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AN INTERDISCIPLINARY JOURNAL FOR THE PROFESSIONS SERVING CHILDREN

CHILDREN AND YOUTH AT THE MID-DECADE

What are their opportunities and problems 5 years after the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth?

AN INTERDISCIPLINARY JOURNAL FOR THE PROFESSIONS SERVING CHILDREN

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THE PLEASURE OF LEARNING, reflected in these school children's faces, is one of the potentials of children the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth sought to develop.

The programs and issues involved in efforts to promote better health, welfare, and education for all children—discussed in this mid-decade issue of CHILDREN—have a great deal of bearing on whether children can find pleasure in learning or in any other aspect of growing up and living.

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LOOKING BACK AND AHEAD

KATHERINE B. OETTINGER
Chief, Children's Bureau

FIVE YEARS AGO this spring from March 27 to April 2, 1960, 7,600 people assembled in Washington from all parts of the country to participate in the Golden Anniversary White House Conference on Children and Youth, the largest of all the decennial White House Conferences on Children to be held since the first was called by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1909. Its purpose was "to promote opportunities for children and youth to realize their full potential for a creative life in freedom and dignity." In their deliberations, and through nearly 700 recommendations, the conferees made it clear that if these opportunities were to be achieved some major steps would have to be taken to improve services in the fields of health, welfare, education, employment, and juvenile delinquency prevention and control, and that not the least of these are steps in relation to the elimination of racial discrimination in all areas of child life.

In the years since the Conference, many people have been working in local communities and on State and national levels to carry out its recommendations. At the same time, the accelerating pace of social change and some widespread social forces have affected many areas of child life. So that now, as we reach the halfway point in the decade, when our emphasis begins to shift from looking backward to the recommendations of the last White House Conference to looking forward to 1970, the significant problems facing children may not be the same as they were in 1960. For this reason, CHILDREN has asked five experts to present their impressions of what some of the important changes are that have taken place in the fields given major attention by the Conference.

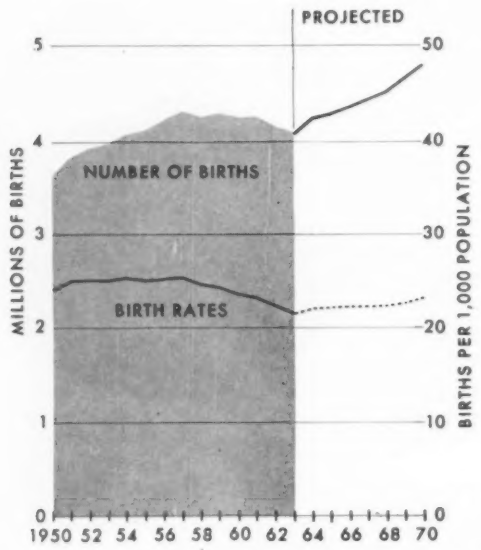
No one issue of a journal can, of course, give a complete picture of all that has occurred in these 5 years in even one of these fields, nor even of all that remains to be done. Highlights only can be presented as they are seen in each field from a single vantage point, the author's. And because they are presented from a national perspective, the reader must give his own interpretaton as to what they mean to the children in his community; and then determine what he can do to give the extra push to eliminate the remaining, or new, stumbling blocks that lie in the way of children's achieving their potentials.

Social Forces

The problems of children occur in local communities and what is done about them must in the last analysis occur there too, but both problems and solutions are affected in no small degree by the economic and social forces that sweep over the Nation as a whole or through large segments of the Nation. Dramatic developments have occurred in the past 5 years, some of which hold threat and some promise for the welfare of children, and some the possible effects of which cannot now be seen. Many of these developments are referred to in the ensuing articles, but it seems important to underscore a few which are producing changes in the world of children and youth, even as this mid-decade issue of CHILDREN is being prepared.

1. The Population Explosion. As the total population in this country increases by leaps and bounds,

U.S. TRENDS IN BIRTHS AND BIRTH RATES



While both the number and rate of live births declined between 1960 and 1963, projections based on the rise in population of child-bearing age indicate a steady increase for the rest of the decade. Sources: National Center for Health Statistics and U.S. Bureau of the Census. (Series B projections.)

the total population of children is increasing even more rapidly. There are today 79.9 million children under 21 in this country as compared with 71.8 million at the time of the 1960 Conference. By 1970, according to Bureau of the Census projections, this number may increase to 85.7, an increase of 16 percent, or nearly 14 million children. At the same time, the number of elderly persons in the country is expected to increase by 17 percent, while adults in the most productive years of life, 25–64, may increase only half as rapidly (8 percent). Thus the responsibilities for the dependent portions of the population will be increasingly heavy on productive adults. The proportion of children to productive adults is expected to keep on increasing at least until 1980.

This poses not only food for thought but also a necessity for immediate planning for appropriate increases in all types of education, welfare, and health services needed by children, and for imaginative solutions to the problems of manning them with appropriately trained personnel.

2. **Rising Expectations for Equality.** One of the dramatic occurrences of the 1960 White House Conference was the push given by the youth participants to the adoption of strong recommendations to end racial discrimination and segregation in all phases of life affecting young people. At that time the participation of college youth in lunch counter sit-ins was giving evidence of a growing commitment among serious-minded young people—especially Negro youth—to efforts to bring about equal opportunity for all. It is not necessary to enlarge here on the numerous events which have since given evidence of the snowballing nature of this commitment and its influence in bringing about a national commitment to the cause of equality of opportunity for all Americans, now embodied in the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The impact on approaches to meeting the needs of children and youth should bring about rapid, profound, and salutary changes in the lives of children, both white and nonwhite, in the months and years ahead.

3. **Concern for the Poor.** A perceptible change has taken place over the past 5 years in prevalent attitudes toward the poor. No longer need those who are concerned with raising the levels of living among the most disadvantaged portions of the population be on the defensive. Shocked into awareness of the grinding and binding effects of poverty by the appearance of a number of widely read books and reports on the subject, the Nation is taking a good look at its pockets of poverty and what makes them, and, on national, State, and local levels, is devising measures intended to break the vicious cause-and-effect circle at many points. Many of these are described in the ensuing articles.

4. **Technological Change.** How successful the efforts to eliminate poverty will be may depend on a great imponderable: Can the creation of new jobs keep pace with the job-bulldozing effects of industrial automation and agricultural mechanization?

The pace of automation has increased with progressive speed in the past 5 years, opening up vast opportunities for aspiring young scientists and technicians, but threatening to create an increasingly stagnant pool of unemployment especially hazardous for youth. The unskilled are the most vulnerable; but what skills should young people be trained in that are insured against elimination by automation? Can training and the creation of jobs in the perpetually understaffed services move in to fill the opportunity vacuum? Or must there be a whole new look at possible approaches to maintaining and enlarging opportunities for youth?

These questions—discussed in more detail in one

of our articles—will undoubtedly still be of grave concern at the end of this decade.

5. **Advancing Knowledge.** The total amount of human knowledge has doubled in the past 15 years, according to a distinguished scientist. He is also reported to have said that we may very well drown, "not in our ignorance, but in our knowledge."

Much of the world's accumulation of knowledge directly concerns children—what they need for optimum development, what goes wrong and results in devastating handicaps, and what can be done to straighten a "bent twig," or at least to keep it from bending further. A tremendous increase in opportunities to secure support for research has stimulated a flood of inquiries into a variety of aspects of normal and abnormal growth and development and into methods of helping children to learn, grow, and thrive as healthy individuals. In the past 5 years, to give only a few examples, we have learned much about some of the causes of mental retardation, and about some of the sensory distortions that handicap children, and we have found ways of either preventing the initial damage or of halting further damage.

We will not drown in such knowledge, but there is danger that the promise and hope of many children may drown unless there is equal enthusiasm for bringing about more widespread application of what we already know and in many instances have known for many years.

6. **Federal Legislation.** The vast amount of Federal legislation in the fields of health, welfare, and education passed since the 1960 Conference—much of it, perhaps, at least an indirect result of the Conference—provides many pathways for reaching the Conference's goals. Some of the most influential measures in shaping the course of community efforts now and in future years are mentioned in the ensuing articles. Altogether, Congress has enacted more than 40 significant laws directly connected with health, welfare, and education since 1960. These laws extend and improve existing Federal or federally aided programs, provide greater support for State services, and encourage concerted approaches of all appropriate resources within communities to identify human or institutional malfunctioning and to make efforts for eliminating or modifying it.

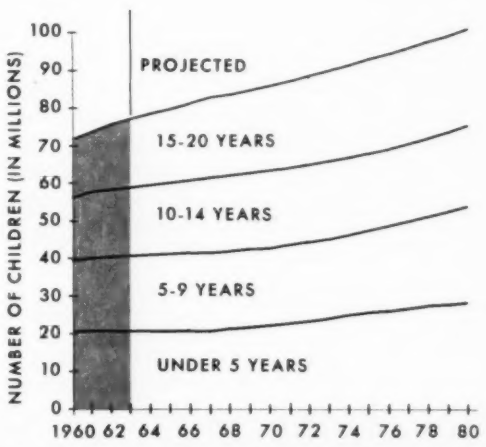
The President's recent State of the Union message and health and educational messages, which were followed almost immediately by bills to increase the health and educational opportunities for children, indicate that this trend of strengthening and extending the Federal undergirding of efforts to promote the general well-being of families and children may continue as we move toward 1970.

7. **WHC Followup.** Surely not the least effective in the many forces for change in the past 5 years have been the activities of thousands of persons across the country who have been working to achieve the recommendations of the 1960 Conference through the mechanisms created for Conference followup.

The National Committee for Children and Youth, created by the Conference Executive Committee to stimulate followup activities, was also charged with the responsibility of reporting on these activities 5 years after the Conference. Its report is now being prepared on the basis of 467 questionnaires sent to the member agencies of its constituent organizations, the Council of National Organizations for Children and Youth, the National Council of State Committees for Children and Youth, and the Interdepartmental Committee on Children and Youth.

Not all the responses are in at this writing, but those that are give an indication of a great deal of activity in States and communities in line with the Conference's emphases on the health, welfare, and educational needs of children, and its concern over juvenile delinquency, dwindling employment opportunities, and racial discrimination. No brief summary can give an indication of the many young people and adults involved in this activity in national conferences, State conferences, community confer-

PROJECTED GROWTH IN U.S. CHILD POPULATION



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (Series B projections).

ences, legislative lobbying, studies, surveys, projects.

The National Committee for Children and Youth has provided stimulation by producing publications on a variety of topics; by joining with its constituent organizations in sponsoring two biennial Joint Conferences on Children and Youth, one focused on youth's participation in community affairs, and the other on ways of translating new concepts into services for children and youth; by initiating a project to bring rehabilitative services to youth rejected as Army volunteers; and by sponsoring two special conferences which have played no small part in calling national attention to the plight of unemployed youth—the Conference on Unemployed Out-of-School Youth in Urban Areas, held in Washington, D.C., in 1961, and the National Conference on Problems of Rural Youth in a Changing Environment, held in Stillwater, Okla., in 1963.

The Interdepartmental Committee on Children and Youth, also taking its cue from the 1960 Conference recommendations, has produced proposals through its subcommittees for getting rehabilitative health services to Selective Service rejectees; for helping young people in the transition from school to work; and for drawing on the potentials of youth to provide constructive services. These have already been incorporated into national programs.

Forty-seven States and territories have committees for children and youth, some appointed by the Governors in preparation for the 1960 Conference and some dating back to the 1950 Conference. These have worked, following the Conference, with varying degrees of intensity to bring about the community involvement upon which any lasting improvement in the conditions affecting children depends. A report on these committees, based on a study by the Children's Bureau, is now in preparation.

The Children's Bureau has, of course, had a pervasive part in White House Conference followup. Its programs by their very nature are committed to the Conference's objectives. It has also carried out some direct followup activities through the preparation of special publications, the provision of consultative services to State committees (representatives of 42 State committees for children and youth were visited by a staff consultant last year), and through the provision of staff services to the Interdepartmental Committee on Children and Youth, which is representative of 37 Federal agencies.

Looking Toward 1970

As the population increases and the pressures of modern life produce a growing tendency toward depersonalization in our society, those of us who are working in behalf of children know that there will be increasing demands on our services. We also know that the critical challenge today is to stop the waste in human resources by finding ways of substituting modern practices for those which in the light of present knowledge are anachronisms.

The following articles describe the ways some of the major obstacles which block children's opportunities have been attacked since 1960, some shifts in perspective and direction, some resetting of priorities for the future. They point to many accomplishments, and from these we can take heart. They also make clear that many obstacles remain, not new, perhaps in some respects even smaller, but nevertheless large and resistant for many, many children.

We cannot hope to eliminate all of these obstacles by 1970, or even perhaps by the year 2000. But we can continue to hack at them with all our strengths, continually honing our tools, and being vigilant for new obstacles which may appear like Gorgon's heads when one has been cut down.

In historical perspective, 5 years are less than a second; in today's fast-moving world they can bring dramatic and unforeseen changes; in a young person's life they can mean the unfolding or destruction of potentials. We cannot tell what all the problems demanding attention from 1970 conferees will be. We do know that many of them are with us now, and that the needs of children will remain the same: for love, understanding, encouragement, and guidance; and for opportunities to increase their knowledge about the world they live in, to learn useful skills, to test their abilities, to enjoy self-fulfillment, and to find ways of participating in community life.

. . . there is a considerable gap between observing a need and knowing how it can in practice be met.

"Youth Problems: Poverty and Social Action Programs," *in* The First Five Years, 1958–1963, *Syracuse University Youth Development Center, Syracuse, N.Y., 1964.*

A VIEW OF HEALTH SERVICES FOR MOTHERS AND CHILDREN

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MORE THAN 100 of the 670 recommendations of the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth directly involved the health and medical care of mothers and children. In reviewing these, one is reminded of the French proverb *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.* At the beginning of the Great Depression, the 1930 White House Conference on Child Health and Protection issued a ringing Children's Charter proclaiming the right of all expectant mothers to good comprehensive maternity care and the right of all newborn infants to continuous medical health supervision. Yet, 30 years later, in 1960, in the midst of the greatest period of affluence any nation has ever known, another White House Conference still found it essential to make these two basic recommendations:[1]

That pregnant women be provided with good obstetrical care and protected from infections, excessive radiation, certain drugs, dietary deficiencies, and any other conditions which may damage the fetus or cause premature birth and possible mental retardation. . . . [393]

That periodic examination and continuous medical and dental care, including vision, hearing, and lingual problems, early detection and treatment of defects and abnormalities, as well as the prevention and early treatment of disease, be provided for all children. . . . [388]

Now that we are midway between the 1960 and 1970 White House Conferences on Children and Youth, it is well to look at some of the major health problems facing children and mothers today, to review the progress of the past 5 years, and to venture a few guesses about future directions. Such a review in so small a space cannot, of course, be comprehensive. Therefore, the points made must be selections based on the experience and preference of the author. Readers who are disappointed by omissions or who wish further information can examine the publications noted in the references.

Maternal and Infant Mortality

In terms of survival, mothers and children of the sixties have far less chance of dying than their predecessors of the past 50 years. Pregnancy today is only one-seventeenth as risky to the mother's life as it was in 1915. Though at the time of the 1960 Conference this trend was showing signs of leveling off, it has since continued downward.

Infants born today in the United States have at least four times the chance to celebrate their first birthday as they did in 1915. Satisfaction in this accomplishment is considerably tempered by the facts that the downward trend of infant mortality in this country has nearly leveled off since 1950 and an increasing number of countries have been experiencing lower infant mortality rates than the United States. (Australia, Canada, Denmark, England and Wales, Finland, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland.) Also, the gap between the rate for the United States and the figures for countries with the most favorable experience has widened. Shapiro and Moriyama, who have pointed to the conspicuous lag in reducing the infant mortality rate in the United States, conclude:

The fact that there are other countries with much lower loss rates suggests that even without a major breakthrough in medical knowledge, a rapid reduction in infant mortality rates in the United States from the present level of 25–26 per 1,000 to a point below 20 per 1,000 is a realistic goal.[2]

One deterrent to maternal and child health which is basically a psychological phenomenon of many

years' duration is the fact that America simply does not take pregnancy, labor, and delivery seriously enough. Barnes has pointed this up:

> In hospital practice the removal of a brain tumor calls for a surgeon with two assistants, a scrub nurse and two circulating nurses, an anesthetist and an assistant. The patient's prognosis is about 18 months and the hospital investment is tremendous. The birth of a new baby at 4 a.m. more often is attended by one physician, no scrub nurse, one circulating nurse, and inadequate or haphazard anesthesia coverage. The combined prognosis of the two patients is over a hundred years, but the hospital investment is minimal.[3]

After the delivery, the newborn infant, who then carries a far greater mortality risk than on any subsequent birthday until his 70th, is not even counted as a hospital patient. Moreover, because of increasing pressure on limited maternity facilities in hospitals, and for economic reasons, the average length of stay for newborn infants, especially those from low-income families, who are at greatest risk, has dropped precipitously. A stay of 48 hours or less for a newborn infant and his mother is not unusual.

Granted that the desirable length of hospital stay for newborn infants is debatable, strictly economic considerations should not be the primary determinant when we are dealing with patients in such a critical stage in their development and when so many opportunities to prevent unwanted developments are present in the hospital.

Prevention of major handicaps is based on early recognition of defects. The hospital maternity ward and nursery for newborns are ideal settings for a prevention laboratory. Since about 99 percent of all newborn infants are born in hospitals, the maternity wards present a golden opportunity to assess maternal capacity for child rearing and, in the process, to identify high-risk mothers and to transmit their records automatically to persons responsible for continuing health supervision of the infant. The newborn nursery offers the chance to recognize high-risk infants during the first few days of life [4] by routine and systematic application of selected screening criteria, and to record information about them.

Other procedures which can and should be applied in the hospital would include: giving each newborn an examination for those congenital malformations which are recognizable at birth, a neurological examination, and a screening test for inborn metabolic errors such as phenylketonuria; testing prematures for serum bilirubin (a test for jaundice); and carrying out a planned program of health education of the mother, with emphasis on the importance, nature, and sources of continued health supervision of her child.

In order to accomplish such an organized exercise in prevention, the hospital stay for mother and newborn infant would have to be lengthened to a minimum of 3 days, preferably 4. Is this impossible?

It should not be, but in many of our large cities—which contain the most advanced medical facilities in the world—lengthening the hospital stay of maternity patients poses a knotty problem of hospital bed distribution. Technical advances, along with inflation, have boosted hospital costs to astronomical proportions in recent years. At the same time, the cities' sources of revenue have dwindled as the high-income portions of their populations have moved to the suburbs; and the burden of health care which must be borne by the cities has become increasingly heavy, as the vacuum left by the departure of the well-to-do has been filled by the poor and dispossessed. Since many cities can no longer afford to purchase care from the large well-equipped voluntary hospitals in their midst, care of the indigent becomes concentrated in large, overcrowded, understaffed municipal hospitals where rapid bed turnover is a necessity because of the pressure of incoming patients. In some city hospitals, maternity patients with no obvious medical complications are released 24 hours after delivery.

Poverty

In an excellent recent review of maternal and child health problems, Yankauer [5] discusses the increasing disadvantage during recent years of Negro infants as compared with white infants, as measured by maternal and infant mortality. At the same time, the proportion of total births which are nonwhite has increased. According to Yankauer, the greatest evidence of a growing disparity in advantages between whites and nonwhites lies in maternal and postneonatal death rates. In 1962, these rates for nonwhites were four and three times as high as the respective rates for whites. Forty years previously, the rates for the two groups were far higher in absolute terms, but much closer to each other in relative terms.

Certainly this disparity does not reflect only the effects of racial discrimination in the provision of health care. In all probability, economic, educational, and occupational differentials are more important factors. However, relatively few studies have been made relating maternal and infant mortality to these determinants of social class. Those which have been carried out show a clear inverse relationship between family income and infant mortality. The same relationship has been shown using the

father's occupation as an indicator of social class.

In 1962 the report of the President's Panel on Mental Retardation [6] emphasized the vital importance of social and cultural deprivation, as manifested in the slums of our large cities, as a hazard to maternal and child health and to optimum growth and development of children. In the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, Congress clearly recognized the environmental factors which both result from and perpetuate poverty and provided for a multipronged attack against them.

An area of Baltimore for which an antipoverty plan has been devised provides a typical picture of the intertwined, interacting characteristics of the slums in many of our large cities.[7] The area, as described in the plan of action, has considerably higher rates of infant mortality, juvenile delinquency, tuberculosis, adult crime, male unemployment, and dependency on public aid than the city as a whole. Over 40 percent of its 46,000 families have incomes of less than $3,000 per year. Of its 115,000 persons over 25 years of age, more than half have had less than 8 years of education; over 9,000 are unemployed. Over 45 percent of its 64,000 housing units are considered not sound. The plan proposes a new agency to synchronize and expedite the delivery of remedial education, employment, health, social, and related services to the low-income population. A comprehensive maternity and infant care program is one of its 24 program proposals.

The relationship of poverty and its many underlying causes to poor maternal and child health has been well established for many years. But only recently has this concept of a multidisciplined, multiagency, multifaceted attack on the results and causes of poverty received attention. Now as the accepted concept in the war on poverty, it becomes the greatest single challenge and opportunity for improving maternal and child health in 1965.

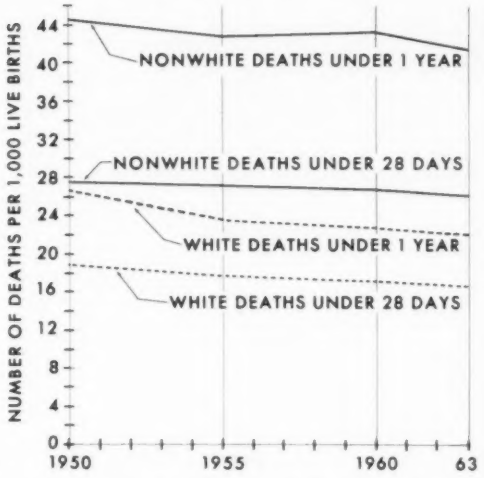
Maternity Care

Since the 1960 White House Conference, there has been a continuing dialogue about the degree to which the failure of many women to receive modern scientific maternity care is due to shortcomings in the adequacy of services and the degree to which it is due to lack of acceptance of opportunities for care by subcultures within our population.

Let us simply agree that the truth lies somewhere between and proceed at once to improve "adequacy" and increase "acceptance."

A comprehensive view of how far we have to go

INFANT MORTALITY TRENDS IN THE UNITED STATES
White and Nonwhite, 1950–1963



The trend lines in this chart speak for themselves. Their statistical sources are the National Center for Health Statistics, and the Children's Bureau, Division of Research.

can be obtained from the proceedings of an institute on maternity care held at the University of California in June 1964, under the auspices of the Children's Bureau.[8] The volume also provides an excellent guide for taking vigorous steps ahead.

In the municipal hospitals of our large cities, where the obstetric patients are of low-income status, nearly one-half of the maternity cases receive prenatal care only late in pregnancy or not at all. The lack of care is greatest among young primigravidas, who are often unwed, and among the grand multiparas, who have little time for, or interest in, concerning themselves with the new pregnancy. How to reach these women early in pregnancy and how to provide them with continuity in care are pressing problems because these are the women most subject to special hazards in pregnancy.[9]

Part of the problem of obstetric care as available for low-income families today lies in the dissatisfaction of patients with the long waiting hours and impersonal attitudes encountered in the clinics. As with inpatient hospital facilities, the outpatient clinics of many municipal hospitals are faced with great overcrowding and understaffing, which make it impossible to give adequate care. Moreover, the problem is increasing. These conditions discourage women heavily burdened with other problems from seeking or following through with prenatal care. Yet

Gentle doctor, concentrating mother, and just barely cooperating baby as they participate in a well-child conference.

the importance of prenatal care to primary prevention of defect in the infant is well established.[8]

We live in a country where marketing research and methods have long been applied to distributing goods and services in easily available fashion, close to where people live, and in attractive ways which appeal to and are acceptable to special groups. Is it possible that in designing the distribution of maternity services we could learn from industry and take into consideration the importance of making them attractive and convenient for the client as well as improving their intrinsic quality?

A real milestone on the road to improvement was reached on October 24, 1963, the day that President Kennedy signed into law the Maternal and Child Health and Mental Retardation Planning Amendments of 1963 (P.L. 88–156).[10] Among other things, this law provides funds to the Children's Bureau to initiate and develop comprehensive maternity and infant care projects to help reduce the incidence of mental retardation. These projects, which provide for continuity of prenatal, parturitive, and postpartum care, are now beginning to get under way, especially in the slums of our large cities.

Not one of the 670 recommendations made by the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth dealt directly with family planning services as a key component of a maternal and child health program. Now, 5 years later, it is generally recognized by public health authorities throughout the world that population control and family planning services constitute a public health problem of top priority. The major opening session of the 1964 annual meeting of the American Public Health Association was devoted to discussion of various aspects of population control. Universities are developing institutes for scientific research in all aspects of population control and for training of personnel, for both research and service. Progress is being made in a number of States and in the District of Columbia in developing family planning services based on *all* methods of birth control, including the rhythm method, as an integral part of local public health services.[11] In some areas, Federal aid for such services is being obtained under the community action provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act.

Maternal and child health history may well show that this long-delayed recognition of the social and individual hazards in uncontrolled reproduction may be the most significant of all recent developments in improving the health of mothers and children.

Out-of-Wedlock Births

From the handicap-prevention and developmental points of view, births out of wedlock continue to be a primary problem since they represent nearly 6 percent (about 250,000 babies) of our annual live births.

Reported births out of wedlock are more prevalent in the lower socioeconomic segments of the population, but are by no means limited to these groups. Their association with low incomes is undoubtedly an important factor in their greater frequency among Negroes, who have a much higher proportion of their population on the lowest rungs of the income ladder. Some cultural factors and the greater availability to higher income groups of means to prevent or keep secret unwanted pregnancies may also be factors.[12]

The dangers for the child of the mother's unmarried status are indicated by a study carried out in New York City which showed that pregnancy in unmarried women is more likely than in married women to terminate in premature birth or late fetal death.[13] Other studies have shown a high association of prematurity with birth defects and infant deaths. It follows as simple logic that unmarried mothers and infants born out of wedlock are high medical risks which must be given a high priority in maternal and child health programs.

Many persons contend that unmarried motherhood is increasing; and, indeed, the numbers of women

reported as giving birth out of wedlock have gone up with the increase in population of women of childbearing age, usually considered as ages 14 to 44. However, the rate of births out of wedlock among women in this age group has remained about the same since 1960.

About 40 percent of the unmarried women who bear children out of wedlock are below the age of 20, although 68 percent of all unmarried women of childbearing age are under 20.[12] While this indicates that the problem of unmarried motherhood is less prevalent among unmarried teenagers than among older unmarried women, it still represents a sizeable group whose problem is complicated by the special physical and psychological hazards to both mother and child presented by the mother's immaturity.

Day-Care Opportunities

Children who are left to fend for themselves or who are provided with inadequate supervision, stimulation, and care face grave risks to their health, physical safety, and emotional development. In recognition of this fact, the 1960 White House Conference urged government aid to increase the number and quality of day-care services and their staff.[1] (Recommendation 351.) In 1962, Congress authorized a special program to help the States set up or encourage such services and in 1963 appropriated funds specifically for this purpose. Since then, 49 States or other United States jurisdictions have made plans to strengthen and expand day-care services within their States. However, by and large, progress in this critical area has been disappointing. A far greater expansion of facilities than has thus far taken place is essential. Increasing numbers of children of working mothers need arrangements for daytime supervision and care, as do numerous children from disadvantaged families whose parents are simply incapable of providing them with the kind of care, supervision, and stimulation young children need for normal development.

A growing awareness that many children in the slums do not receive the kind of care and early reciprocal communication with adults that are necessary for normal development has prompted a number of experiments to determine whether group day care can be provided for children under 3 without detriment to their emotional development. The use of licensed family day-care homes is also being suggested to meet these children's needs, but so far this type of service, where available, is generally limited to children of working mothers.

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 has a tremendous potential for supplying some real forward motion for the children in greatest need of day-care services or in need of preschool education. If we are to save a sizeable segment of the Nation's most valuable resource—our children—from developmental erosion, we had better get on with the job of applying some of the scientific research in which we take such pride. Hopefully, we will see some rapid, bold, and heuristic developments in upgrading the environmental stimulation in the early years of childhood as the community action programs in the war on poverty get under way.

Adolescent Medicine

By 1970, the adolescent population of this country will be 10 percent larger than it is today. While medical interest in the special problems of adolescents is not growing nearly rapidly enough, it has picked up speed since the last White House Conference. Of 230 hospitals about which information was obtained in a recent survey, 60 operated special facilities for adolescents—40 adolescent wards, and 34 adolescent clinics. Of these 34 clinics, only 9 were reported to be in operation in 1960.[14]

In order to develop professional understanding of the health problems of adolescents, the Children's Bureau has begun supporting five training centers in adolescent medicine in medical schools. As the adolescent population rises, it becomes more and more important that all physicians in training have a sound understanding of the special emotional and physical aspects of this stage of growth and development.

Mental Retardation

Perhaps the greatest milestone for child health in the past 5 years was the report of the President's Panel on Mental Retardation in October 1962.[6] The very broad approach taken in its more than 90 major recommendations provides an excellent handle to the solution of other fundamental problems of child health and welfare. President Kennedy signed two major pieces of legislation to implement many of these recommendations: (1) the already mentioned Maternal and Child Health and Mental Retardation Planning Amendments to the Social Security Act, which add new dimensions to maternal and child health and crippled children's services, as well as providing Federal support for State planning to prevent and ameliorate retardation; and (2) the Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Health Centers Construction Act of 1963 (P.L.

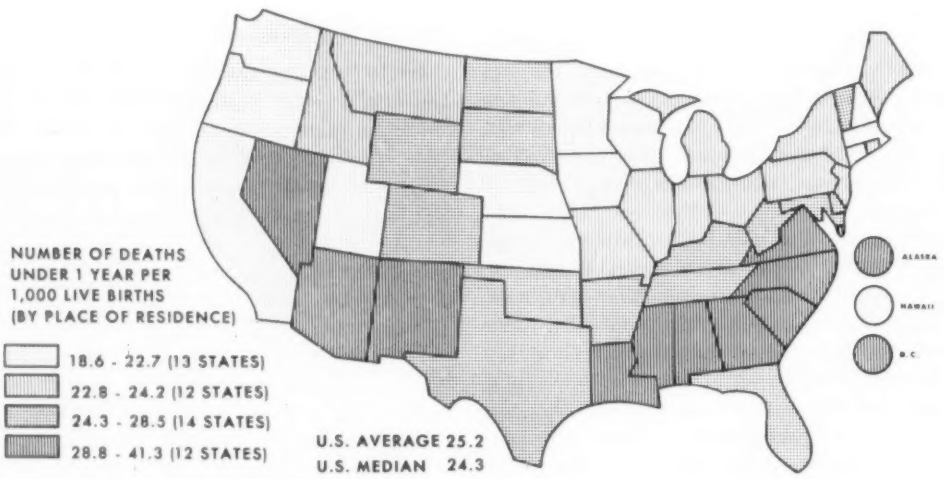
88–164), of which more will be said. Progress along many fronts—basic research, preventive health measures, diagnosis and treatment, education, and vocational training—is described in publications of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.[15]

The growth of clinics for mentally retarded children is one of the dramatic developments of the past few years. At the time of the 1960 White House Conference, there were 73 such clinics. A few of these clinics date back to the late forties, but a few years before the Conference, in the late fifties, the Children's Bureau established a program which has had a tremendous influence on their spread. The number has steadily increased until now there are 128 clinical programs for mentally retarded children in this country; and more are being planned. In most of these programs, the clinical team includes a pediatrician, who is usually the medical director, a psychologist, a medical or psychiatric social worker, and public health nurses; and, in some clinics, also a child development specialist, a speech therapist, and a nutritionist. Other medical and nonmedical specialists are called upon when needed, since every attempt is made to treat the whole child. In fact, the focus in an increasing number of these clinics is so broad as to make them almost indistinguishable from the more recently developed clinics for the multiply handicapped, which include the retarded.

In the past 5 years, there has also been growing recognition of the importance of increasing the skills of professional persons who work with retarded children, a point stressed in the report of the President's Panel on Mental Retardation in October 1962.[8] Some of the clinics have this focus. Further steps to meet this need for training and the need for more research related to retardation—as well as the need for greater availability of services for retarded children and adults—are receiving great impetus from the Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Health Centers Construction Act of 1963. Among its provisions concerned with retardation, this act authorizes $22,500,000 for the construction of "university affiliated centers" to provide a "full range" of inpatient and outpatient services for the retarded and to be associated with university hospitals or other parts of universities.

In addition to operating a variety of programs—inpatient and outpatient diagnosis and treatment, laboratory work, day-care centers, demonstration schools—these centers will probably affiliate with a number of already existing community facilities, such as public school special classes, sheltered workshops, vocational training classes, and residences for long-term care. They are expected to involve all the appropriate departments or schools of the university which can play a role—medical, dental, social work,

INFANT MORTALITY RATES IN THE UNITED STATES, 1963



The map shows where the greatest problems in infant mortality are. Source of data: National Center for Health Statistics.

nursing, psychology, sociology, education, and public health, for example.

Their inpatient facilities will be part of a pediatric teaching unit or immediately adjacent to it. Thus, cases requiring detailed observation can be admitted for initial diagnosis and evaluation. Other cases can be admitted for clinical research, for demonstrating to physicians particular kinds of clinical problems in mental retardation, or for demonstration purposes in the training of nurses, social workers, and other personnel.

Thus, the centers will have a tremendous potential for carrying on high quality training and research. They will offer opportunity for longitudinal observation of children with retardation and other cerebral dysfunction; experience with the wide array of services and facilities such children need at different stages of their life cycle; and a working acquaintance and understanding of the roles of the various professions involved in their care.

Pertinent to the work of these centers, and to other services for retarded children, will be developments under another provision of the act which authorizes $20 million for the construction of facilities for research in human development, "whether biological, medical, social, or behavioral."

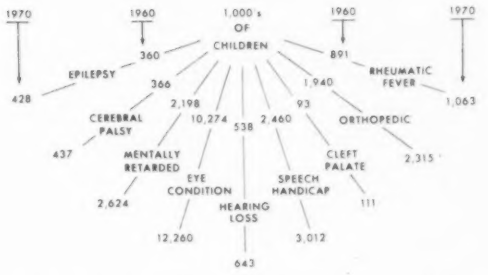
The act also brings families of retarded persons promise of greater access to services by authorizing a total of $67,500,000 for the construction of facilities for services to be open to persons unable to pay, the location and type to be based on State inventories of existing services and surveys of need.

Handicapped Children

Two encouraging trends which began well before the 1960 White House Conference have continued in an accelerated pace in recent years: (1) the tendency for State crippled children's programs to broaden their definition of a handicapped child to include an increasing variety of conditions; and (2) a tendency to drop illogical and untenable restrictions from these programs, such as those preventing a physically handicapped child who also has mental retardation from receiving treatment. The acceleration of these changes probably has several sources. One of the Task Forces of the President's Panel on Mental Retardation focused attention on the plight of the physically and mentally handicapped child; [16] and subsequent legislation increased Federal funds for crippled children's services so that liberalization of State policies became feasible.

A part has also been played by the crystallization

HANDICAPPING CONDITIONS AMONG CHILDREN



The most prevalent conditions handicapping children at the time of the last White House Conference on Children and Youth and estimates of their probable incidence in 1970.

of medical concepts that disease states are the indirect outcome of a constellation of circumstances rather than the direct result of a single determining factor. Indeed, the Report of the President's Panel on Mental Retardation [6] reflected the increasingly accepted idea that the social and psychological, as well as physical, characteristics of the total environment, affect the disease patterns of the community. During the next 5 years, there are likely to be further trends toward broadening the definition of handicapped children and toward the organization of services and facilities to permit an integrated approach to the whole child, regardless of the number, type, or combination of handicaps he presents.

A relatively new development along these lines has been the establishment of interprofessional clinics for the diagnosis and evaluation of children with multiple handicaps, especially neurological and sensory handicaps, frequently including mental retardation. These clinics are staffed with a variety of medical disciplines in addition to the professionel representation found in clinics for the mentally retarded. A single person, usually the pediatrician in charge, provides the essential continuity of care and counseling to the child and his family.[17]

In some of these centers, collaborative biomedical-educational research is developing improvements in the techniques of special education, to relate them more precisely to the problems of disordered structure, chemistry, and function in the individual.

In such clinics, all the pertinent data about a child are integrated into a working diagnosis and plan of habilitation usually by means of a case conference at which all of the specialists are represented. One of the important benefits of this organization of serv-

ices around the whole child is in the quality of training of future physicians and members of other health professions. It affords understanding of other disciplines' skills, facilitates working together, and increases awareness of the variety of community resources needed by the handicapped child.

There remains, however, a long-standing and distressing gap in services and facilities for the handicapped. Little or no progress has been made in meeting the rather special needs, especially for long-term residential care, of the child who is *both* blind and deaf, or mentally retarded, blind, and deaf; the young adult with very severe cerebral palsy but normal mentality; or the young person with paraplegia or quadriplegia—one of an increasing number—who is not capable of achieving independent living. This gap needs immediate attention.

A Change in Vision

Space limitations have allowed mention here of only a few of the specific problems and advances which have marked the past 5 years' progress toward the goal of adequate conditions and services for helping children reach their greatest potential for physical and emotional health. Above all has been a widespread change in vision and determination.

This was wrought by the leadership of our amazing young President, John F. Kennedy, whose meteoric thousand days established the pursuit of excellence as a national way of life. Through his wide reading and frequent contacts with scientists, he understood that in an age in which it is possible to split the atom and voyage to the moon it is also possible—and just as important—to improve the quality of human reproduction and development. He demonstrated this vision by his appointment of a Task Force on Health and Welfare even before his inauguration, and acting on one of its recommendations within the first 90 days of his term by creating the new National Institute of Child Health and Human Development.

President Kennedy was well aware that the health problems of mothers and children are extremely complex, massive, embedded in our society, and amenable to no simple solutions. But he said: "*Let us begin;*" and we did. In his charge to his Panel on Mental Retardation, he said that the quality of a civilization can best be judged by the way in which it treats its less fortunate citizens. A great amount of "forward motion"—to use his phrase—is now under way in improving the quality of our American civilization.

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PROGRESS AND ISSUES IN CHILD WELFARE SERVICES

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THE YEARS since the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth have been crucially important in the social welfare field. Paradoxically, the most significant developments for the welfare of children have occurred outside the sphere of "social welfare" itself. These are the greatly accelerated moves toward realization of civil rights for Negroes, and the emergence of a national commitment to end poverty. In the light of these developments, the theme of the last Conference—"to promote opportunities for children and youth to realize their full potential for a creative life in freedom and dignity"—was prophetic, perhaps even beyond the dreams of those who framed it.

The 1962 Public Welfare Amendments to the Social Security Act [1] have also done much to point the way toward realization of the goals for children expressed in the Conference theme. In this legislation, Congress clearly expressed its intention that public assistance applicants and recipients should be provided with necessary social services as well as with financial assistance. The way was thus opened for a nationwide effort to provide better protection and expanded opportunities for children in the Federal-State program of aid to families with dependent children.

In these amendments, Congress also broadened and made more specific the definition of child welfare services for which the States could expend Federal funds. Even more important, Congress expressed its desire that all States have comprehensive child welfare services available by 1975 for all those children who need them. As a part of this broad new approach, Congress also emphasized a national interest in the provision of proper day care for children, and—through the Maternal and Child Health and Mental Retardation Planning Amendments of 1963—special efforts on behalf of the mentally retarded.[2]

In each instance, congressional commitments were supported by the establishment of special programs and by appropriations to implement new services. Some of these programs are already in operation. All of them are too new at this point for full evaluation. What is important to recognize, however, is that each represents a clear commitment on behalf of the American people to carry out specific goals related to the welfare of children—all necessary for moving this country in the direction of equal opportunities for all children.

There are, of course, wide gaps between these stated goals and their achievement. In some instances, important progress has already been made. In regard to others, the programs and the resources being made available fall far short of what is needed. These national commitments and the beginning programs which back them up do, however, open the way for a different approach to the welfare of children from that which was possible 5 years ago.

Against Poverty

Poverty is a certain and a cruel enemy of children. It deprives them of wholesome food in sufficient amounts to grow up well and strong. It results in neglected teeth and untreated health problems. It sends children to school ashamed of their clothing and unable to participate in activities which may be essential to their proper social development. It forces children to live in unsuitable houses and bad neighborhoods. It pushes them out of school and into dead-end jobs long before they are prepared to enter the complicated kinds of employment for which they are going to be needed in this age.

The protection of children from poverty has been one of the major preoccupations of social welfare for many years. These efforts were greatly accelerated

by the passage of the Social Security Act in 1935, which provided the Nation with new and improved tools in the public programs of financial assistance, insurance against certain hazards, and social services. In spite of these efforts, however, large numbers of children in this country are today living in poverty. In a recent article,[3] Helen Witmer estimates that in 1961 one-fourth of all American children were growing up in families whose incomes were clearly inadequate to meet their basic needs. Furthermore, of the 17 million children living in families falling below the poverty line, 3 million were living in families whose incomes were less than $1,000 per year. Clearly, new approaches to the problem are urgent.

Some new approaches will be possible under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.[4] If, for example, older teenagers can become self-supporting or learn job skills which will enable them to increase their earnings, the poverty pressures upon their younger brothers and sisters will be lightened. Also, retraining opportunities should open the way for unemployed parents to find jobs and for others to upgrade their earning power. The specialized programs for migrants authorized under the act should be useful in mitigating some of the ravages of poverty on children in these families. Moreover, some of the many experimental community programs which are being developed under this act may point the way for a broad attack against the links in poverty's circular chain of cause and effect, in which the poor are often bound for generations. Taken as a statement of national determination, the Economic Opportunity Act brings hope that over the next few years steps will be taken which will go far to protect children of the future from the terrible ravages of poverty.

Public Assistance

In the meantime, however, nothing in these new efforts negates the importance of providing adequate financial assistance for needy children and their families today. Forum after forum in the White House Conference of 1960 pointed out serious deficiencies in the financial assistance programs of this country, and called for increases in assistance grants to enable children to live in accordance with standards of decency and health.[5] (Recommendations 370 to 377.) Here, unfortunately, comparatively little progress has been made during the last 5 years.

In November 1964, each child and adult recipient in the AFDC program averaged $33.20 in assistance for the month, including payments for medical care. On the basis of a 1961 nationwide study of families receiving AFDC, Kahn and Perkins recently reported that: "Of the 35 million impoverished Americans included in President Johnson's 'one-fifth of the Nation' estimate, the 4 million adults and children who receive aid to families with dependent children (AFDC) are among the poorest."[6] In that year, the total annual income from all sources of families in the program averaged $1,680. In no State was the total average income as much as $2,400 per year, and in one State it was barely over $750. This study excluded vendor payments for medical care made in behalf of the recipients. In late 1961, such payments averaged $100 per family annually.

Although no similarly intensive study has been done since 1961, the authors conclude, on the basis of partial data, that "the financial circumstances of AFDC families have changed little since 1961 and that the conclusions drawn from the 1961 survey continue to be valid."

Needy children whose families are not eligible for AFDC are in an even more serious plight. In numerous studies throughout the country, the National Study Service, a community research agency sponsored by the Child Welfare League of America, Family Service Association of America, National Council on Crime and Delinquency, and the National Travelers Aid Association, has found gross deficiencies in general assistance programs—programs established by States and localities to aid needy persons who do not fall into the categories for which Federal aid is available. From State to State, and even from locality to locality within States, the amount of assistance provided through such programs varies from essentially nothing to amounts approaching those in the federally aided categories.

In many States, certain types of families are excluded entirely from receiving assistance, especially the families which are nonresidents or in which a parent is deemed physically employable—whether or not a job is available.

In one community studied where the families of employables were excluded from public aid, the only assistance available to them was a weekly grocery order of $2 per person from the Community Chest via the Salvation Army. Archaic methods, such as giving assistance in kind, are still being used in many places. One local relief administrator reported that on occasion he required persons asking for new shoes to turn in their old shoes first, to be certain they were entirely worn out. Yet, in spite of the seriously low standards in general relief, only about one-third of the States (18 in November 1964) have taken

advantage of the provision of the 1962 Amendments to the Social Security Act, allowing them to expand their federally aided AFDC programs to include the families of unemployed parents.

Obviously the recommendations of the 1960 White House Conference calling for more adequate assistance for needy children are far from attainment. In order to place the kind of floor under family income which is necessary to end conditions of abject poverty as the nurturing ground for millions of children, major improvements in current assistance programs are still required.

It appears that the time may be overdue for serious consideration of some new approach to assuring income to families with children. One White House Conference recommendation, for example, called for study of the family allowance system used in Canada and other countries to offset the inverse relationship between income and size of family. (Recommendation 111.) The relationship between minimum wage laws and the protection of children, pointed up in the Conference recommendations, cannot be overlooked.[5] (Recommendations 434 to 436.)

The strong concern of the participants in the 1960 White House Conference for strengthening family life led them to consideration of the resources represented in AFDC and in child welfare services. They specifically recommended lower caseloads in these programs and more clear-cut assignment of responsibility for casework to families which were giving inadequate care to their children.[5] (Recommendations 104 and 449.)

Congress in 1962 opened the way, in both of these programs, for extensive implementation of these recommendations. Not only did it clearly charge the AFDC program to provide welfare services likely to prevent or reduce dependency and promote self-reliance, but it also provided the wherewithal to move in this direction. In addition, it required special attention to the needs of each child in the program and the provision of appropriate services. States complying with Federal standards can now receive 75 percent reimbursement for the cost of certain social services in AFDC, including casework and complementary services such as social group work, foster family care, homemaker, social rehabilitation, and volunteer services and for staff development activities. Among other standards which must be met to attain eligibility for this reimbursement is one requiring that caseloads be no higher than 60.

As a result of these provisions and a number of other important changes affecting the AFDC program, all States have made some program improvements. By September of 1964, 53 of the 54 States or other U.S. jurisdictions had developed plans for qualifying in some degree for the 75 percent Federal matching funds for social services in AFDC. Six States had sufficient staff to meet the Federal caseload and supervisory standards and also were providing the full scope of services to all AFDC families, as needed.

In spite of serious problems in recruiting and training staff for these difficult casework assignments, there is every reason to think that there will be much forward movement in the development of service in this program over the next several years.

Child Welfare Services

In a comparably significant action, Congress also redefined the Federal child welfare services program. Its new definition of child welfare clearly pits that program against those problems "which may result in the neglect, abuse, exploitation, or delinquency of the child." The definition recognizes the value of strengthening the child's own home, where possible; focuses on prevention of problems, as well as remedy; and encompasses services designed to reinforce the ability of parents to meet the child's needs.

These services include: casework with children and with parents, provided either upon request from the parents, or, in situations where action is necessary for child protection, upon community referral; services to unmarried parents focused both on planning for care of their children and resolving their own problems; supplementary child-care services, such as homemaker and day-care services, to compensate for certain inadequacies in parental care; and a variety of services to substitute for parental care, when necessary, including foster family care, various kinds of group care, and adoption.

New importance is given to this rather comprehensive definition by another section of the law which provides that child welfare services be extended "with a view to making available by July 1, 1975, in all political subdivisions of the State, for all children in need thereof, child-welfare services provided by the staff (which shall to the extent feasible be composed of trained child-welfare personnel) of the State public welfare agency or of the local agency participating in the administration of the plan in the political subdivision. . . ."[2]

In requiring extension of child welfare services to all jurisdictions by 1975, Congress was directing its efforts toward one of our serious national problems—

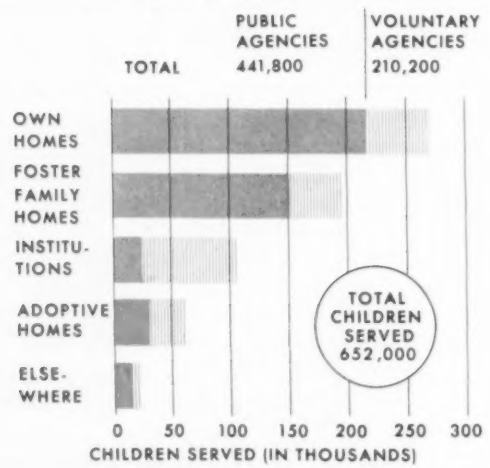
the lack of comprehensive child welfare services in many parts of the country. In fact, in many of the counties in this country, essentially no child welfare services exist.

During the past 5 years, the National Study Service has examined public and voluntary child welfare services in approximately 20 communities. In many of these, the development of child welfare services has been only partial. In most of them, community action is likely to be taken in a child's behalf only if neglect or parental mistreatment has been serious and extended over a long period of time. This action is then likely to take the form of emergency removal of the child from the custody of his parents and placement in some kind of substitute care. Few were the communities in which neglected children were identified early, and they and their parents given skilled casework services aimed at early resolution of problems and prevention of more serious ones.

This failure to provide preventive services for children who are still with their own parents is widespread. It is the major finding of a statewide study of children's services in a large, highly populated State recently made by the National Study Service. That it is true in many other States is borne out by the Children's Bureau statistics. On March 31, 1963, for example, of the estimated total of 619,000 children being served by public and voluntary child welfare agencies and institutions, only 41 percent were listed as living in the homes of parents or relatives or in independent living arrangements.[7] The remainder were in foster care or in some other living arrangement away from their own parents. This underscores the need for a major push, between now and 1975, to enable States and localities to throw greater efforts into strengthening families in order to prevent the problems which result in the placement of children away from home.

CHILDREN RECEIVING CHILD WELFARE SERVICES

By Living Arrangements, March 31, 1964



The gray portions represent children being served by public agencies; the striped portions, children being served by voluntary agencies. Source: Children's Bureau, Division of Research.

Observations in a number of localities also indicate that little effort has been directed toward building services which supplement family care, such as day-care and homemaker services. In the statewide study already mentioned, homemaker services were found to exist in only 15 out of 58 counties, and then for the most part on such a small scale that they could be regarded only as demonstrations.

Although the leadership made possible in the States by the recent Federal legislation for day care is beginning to stimulate interest and new activity in this field, expansion in most localities has not been commensurate with need. Among many pressing problems is the shortage of child welfare workers in day care, resulting, for example, in the overburdening of licensing workers in numerous communities. There is also comparatively little availability of day-care service for families unable to pay the full cost of care, and little use of day care as a planned resource in a treatment program for a family. However, State plans for stimulating day-care services for those most in need of them and for strengthening licensing programs, have recently been adopted in 49 States with the help of Federal funds for day care made available in 1963, and the picture may improve in the future. In some communities, too, there are indications that the emphasis on poverty may result in significant expansion of day-care facilities.

The most extensive single child welfare service in most communities is foster care. Here, too, services have developed unevenly and are not necessarily related to need. Some communities are still caring for the vast bulk of dependent children in institutions. Others are operating with almost total dependence upon foster family care. While there is a growing interest in the development of other varieties of foster care, such as agency group homes, such facilities are as yet comparatively rare.

Service to unmarried mothers in many communities is focused primarily on planning for the baby's adoption, with a minimum of emphasis on the mother's future adjustment. In some communities, adop-

tion services, whether public or private, are restricted almost exclusively to easy-to-place children and meet only a comparatively small portion of the need. Although the proportion of children adopted by nonrelatives who were placed by social agencies has steadily increased in recent years (66 percent in 1963 compared with 59 percent in 1960), in some States less than half the children adopted by nonrelatives were placed by social agencies.

Obviously, much remains to be accomplished before comprehensive child welfare services are actually available throughout the country. Some deficiencies can be directly attributed to inadequate financing. Everywhere there is great concern about the cost of child welfare programs. In all communities studied by the National Study Service, financial resources for child welfare services have been extremely small, as compared with the needs of children. In fact, much of the preoccupation of child welfare workers with foster care probably goes back to budgetary pressure. A child in an emergency situation who cannot be looked after by his parents naturally receives first consideration by the community child welfare agency. If this agency is bogged down by high caseloads and meager resources, it may never get much beyond the handling of emergencies. Some of the agencies studied were found to be essentially in this condition.

The findings of the 20 studies completed by the National Study Service give us every reason to think that a tremendous expansion of services is needed for achieving universally available child welfare services. This will require the addition of new services, additional staff in existing services, and additional child-care facilities.

Such expansion will be expensive, and it is not likely to occur unless a drastically different approach is taken to the financing of child welfare services. At present, meeting the cost of these services rests primarily upon the States and their subdivisions. In some States, most of the cost must be met by the local community. This is in contrast to the situation in public assistance.

It was recognized long ago that if public assistance programs with reasonable standards were to exist in all subdivisions in each State, heavy Federal financial participation and strong Federal leadership would be required. This recognition found expression in the Social Security Act's authorization for an open-end appropriation to help meet the costs of State public assistance expenditures through a matching formula. As a result of this assumption of responsibility by the Federal Government, public assistance programs long have been available to needy residents of the remotest county in the Nation. On the other hand, Federal funds for child welfare services—which are limited by ceilings on authorized appropriations—have been available only in comparatively small amounts for purposes of strengthening State leadership and stimulating the development of services. Federal funds for child welfare services have been increased over the years, but still are so limited that they can only be regarded as a leadership tool, rather than as a source of financial support for local services.

Children enjoy stimulating experiences in a Washington, D.C., research-oriented day-care project which is conducted by Howard University, with the support of the Children's Bureau.

Child welfare services of the kind visualized in the new Federal definition are basic services which must be made available to children who need them, regardless of the jurisdiction in which they live. If these services were provided properly, and in the amounts necessary, their cost would far exceed current expenditures. Local officials in the communities we studied were usually so burdened with local tax problems that they showed little disposition to finance a child welfare program on the scale necessary to provide the preventive and rehabilitative services visualized in Congress's definition. While in recent years some States have been assuming greater financial responsibility than formerly for child welfare services, there is little likelihood that

all the basic services will be available to all children needing them until the Federal Government assumes financial responsibility for this part of public welfare comparable to that assumed for public assistance. This means substantial Federal reimbursement to the States for the cost of care and service and for administrative costs.

Personnel

Lack of funds is not the only barrier to the extension of social welfare services for children. Serious problems also stem from the lack of professional personnel. There was strong emphasis on this subject in the 1960 Conference, and many recommendations were made concerning the recruitment, training, and retention of personnel in the helping professions. (Recommendation 443.)[6] Since that time numerous advances have been made.

The impetus from increased Federal funds for training public assistance workers, authorized by the Public Welfare Amendments of 1962, has resulted in considerable acceleration of training activities in the States. At the present time, there are about 400 persons in staff development positions in State and local public welfare agencies. About 1,495 public assistance staff members were on educational leave during the year ending June 30, 1964. And about 1,000 child welfare workers were provided stipends for professional training with Federal and State child welfare service funds during 1964, as compared with about 600 in 1960.

In addition, under new provisions in the 1962 legislation, Federal funds were made available through the Children's Bureau for grants to institutions of higher learning in 31 States, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico to expand their resources for training child welfare personnel. With these grants, 53 new field instruction units were established, adding facilities for about 275 students; and 276 traineeships were made available to schools of social work to bring new people into the field.

While these activities represent important progress along the lines of the White House Conference recommendations, their significance becomes dwarfed in the face of present and anticipated needs. Fred Steininger, director of the Bureau of Family Services, after describing current training and recruitment efforts in public assistance, concludes that in spite of these advances ". . . there is no indication of any significant change in the 1960 ratio of 1 professionally qualified caseworker for every 23,000 assistance recipients." [8]

The strong emphasis of the Children's Bureau on staff training has played an important role in helping many States to develop a fairly high level of professionally trained staff in their child welfare services. The competition of other programs, however, and the greatly expanding need for staff which is accompanying the extension of child welfare services are making rapid inroads on the progress in reducing the shortage of qualified staff. Unless radically different approaches can be developed for the training and use of personnel, even more serious problems lie ahead.

Research

As in any social welfare endeavor, lack of knowledge frequently stands in the way of success in child welfare services. For this reason, recommendations calling for research relating to child welfare services were made by the 1960 White House Conference.[5] (Recommendations 380 and 381.) For this reason also, child welfare research has greatly accelerated in the last 5 years. For example, the Child Welfare League of America has enlarged its research role. The child welfare research and demonstration grants program administered by the Children's Bureau has opened up new opportunities. Grants for research relating to children in public assistance programs are available from the Welfare Administration. The sum of these programs, plus the research in child welfare being carried on by many other groups, cannot approach the research effort in the health field; but it is a beginning.

Coordination

Some of the problems discussed at the White House Conference related to the organization of children's services; and some of today's difficult unanswered questions are in this area. As a surveyor, it has frequently been my job to examine the family and child welfare agencies of a community to determine the degree to which they are effectively operating together in the protection and care of children. Too often, I have found agency administrators and practitioners pressing the development of their own specific type of service with little thought as to how it may be related to others in solving a general problem, such as dependency, parental inadequacy, or delinquency.

In many communities, agencies serving children are so specialized and their services are so fragmented that no one seems to be concerned with the whole family or even the whole child. Too often, when a

child needs a change in service—as from the home of a relative to a foster home—the change results in a change of the child's worker and even a shift to an entirely different agency. Each time this happens, whatever has previously been gained in building a worker-child relationship is lost, and it is necessary to begin again, frequently to the detriment of the child.

Some of the questions in need of clarification center on the role of voluntary agencies and their relationship to public services. Voluntary agencies play an important part in the provision of child welfare services. Although the proportion of children being served by public agencies is increasing, 33 percent of the children receiving child welfare services on March 31, 1963,[7] were served primarily by voluntary agencies. Voluntary agencies, however, are unevenly distributed with heavy concentration in some urban areas and almost no services in many rural areas. Some communities are unrealistically attempting to provide care to most of the children who need it through voluntary agencies, which must draw on public funds for the purpose. In this failure to differentiate between public and voluntary responsibilities, the essential characteristics of voluntary agencies—flexibility and self-determination—are sometimes sacrificed. Both public and voluntary services are needed, and it is to be hoped that both can support those advances and changes which are required to meet the needs of children and together can work out increasingly productive relationships.

Frequently, problems of overlapping functions arise between public agencies. This is particularly true in some communities in relation to probation and public welfare. This lack of clarity is particularly serious in relation to protective services for neglected or abused children. Sometimes this confusion also extends to foster care.

Sometimes also child welfare staff and public assistance staff are not well coordinated and fail to work for common goals in a particular family. The 1962 Public Welfare Amendments require coordination of these two programs within the States; and State plans under both programs now must show how this is to be achieved. There is, however, still much to be done toward better coordination of the programs at all levels of government. The recent establishment of the Welfare Administration gives great promise for accelerated progress in this direction, as well as for increased recognition throughout the country of the importance of public welfare programs.

Many people can identify the problems of agency organization, role, and function which inhibit the provision of sound service to children; but so far only inadequate answers have been found to most of them. This is an area requiring major attention.

It has, of course, been impossible in this short space to give an adequate review of the status of child welfare services in 1965, nor even of the issues remaining unresolved since the 1960 White House Conference. The developments and issues which have been pointed out here are, however, some of the most significant of the past 5 years. It is obvious that progress has been made since 1960 in meeting the welfare needs of children and that we are on the threshold of great opportunity. It is also obvious that some serious obstacles must be removed if we are to meet expanding needs. Their removal will demand much ingenuity and the concerted efforts of all.

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[1] Public Law 87–543.

[2] Public Law 88–156.

[3] Witmer, Helen L.: Children and poverty. *Children,* November–December 1964.

[4] "The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964," *Children,* September–October 1964, page 198.

[5] Golden Anniversary White House Conference on Children and Youth: Recommendations—composite report of forum findings. National Committee on Children and Youth, Washington, D.C. 1960.

[6] Kahn, Gerald; Perkins, Ellen J.: Families receiving AFDC: What do they have to live on? *Welfare in Review,* October 1964.

[7] U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Welfare Administration, Children's Bureau: Child welfare statistics—1963. CB Statistical Series No. 75. 1964.

[8] Steininger, Fred H.: Implementation of the 1962 Public Welfare Amendments. *Welfare in Review,* October 1964.

. . . deprived children, whether in their own homes or out of them, are a source of social infection as real and serious as are carriers of diphtheria and typhoid.

John Bowlby in Maternal Care and Mental Health, *World Health Organization Technical Monograph Series No. 2, Geneva. 1951.*

FERMENT IN THE SCHOOLS

SIDNEY P. MARLAND, JR.
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AMONG the 670 recommendations made by the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth, 123 were concerned with education. It therefore seems fitting at this mid-point between Conferences to assess the progress being made toward the goals set 5 years ago.

In the 25 years I have been a public school educator, as teacher, then administrator, there has been at no time the heightening of public concern, support, and involvement in the affairs of public education that prevails in 1965. These are good signs for the future of education, and, though this public enthusiasm may not last, there is no evidence, so far, of a decline or even of a leveling off.

Today, the voices of top business and industrial management as well as high government officials are heard clearly among those who call for increased investment in the human beings of our society through the schools. And even the scholars of the universities have learned to respect the public schools—perhaps the most significant development of all.

In the schools themselves, a spirit of innovation is spreading, although movement is still cautious. Also, there is a new academic vigor which can be measured by the opportunities now available to the ablest children—advanced placement programs and a variety of efforts to stimulate the intellectual appetite of swift learners at all grade levels. And a greater investment in public education is being made.

During the past 10 years, yearly expenditures per pupil have increased from $265 to $460, the bulk of the increase going to teachers' salaries and slightly improved pupil-teacher ratios.

All in all, public education is enjoying a prestige, a concern, a visibility, and an acknowledged responsibility that suggest a time of full flowering.

Yes, But . . .

Lest these favored circumstances bring on an unwarranted optimism, let us examine the other side of the ledger. Here are the liabilities:

1. Unequal Access

In a land founded on a belief in equal opportunity . . .

- One of every three students in fifth grade drops out of school before high school graduation. While the proportion of dropouts has been declining for the past 50 years, it is still large enough to indicate that, for far too many young people, the schools have failed dismally to provide a relevant education.
- More than 20 percent of our high school students in the 80–90 percentile of academic attainment do not enter college in the year following their graduation—many of them never get beyond high school.
- Fewer than 2 young citizens in 10 now graduate from college.
- While 69 percent of our young white adults have graduated from high school, only 42 percent of our young nonwhite adults have done so.
- While 14 percent of our young white adults have completed college, only 4 percent of our young nonwhite adults have done so.

2. Insufficient Money

In a period of unmatched economic prosperity and growth . . .

- We have an urgent need for more than 120,000 new classrooms.

• The financing of education remains largely in the backwaters of anachronistic property taxes and equalization formulas for State aid that enhance inequality. Yet by the time the 1970 Conference convenes, public elementary and secondary school enrollment will have increased to nearly 45 million pupils, from 36 million in 1960.

• Teachers' salaries, in spite of improvements, continue to lag behind general salary gains of professional and mangerial personnel nationally. About 23 percent of people in professional and management occupations in this country generally earn over $10,000 a year, while among classroom teachers in the public schools only 1.5 percent earn over $10,000. At present salary rates, the schools cannot compete with the "professional and managerial" world for their fair share of the young people capable of being teachers.

• A momentous population shift is occurring with deeply damaging results in our big cities. Total big-city population (in the 15 largest cities) decreased 4 percent in the past 10 years, while public school enrollment in these cities increased 33 percent. The bonded debt for buildings, not to mention the moral debt to deprived central city residents, is left behind by the out-migrants, for the most part people in the higher income brackets. The shrinking tax base remains as an eroding resource for an enlarging educational burden, including the burden of compensatory education for newcomers who come from inferior schools.

3. Insufficient Vision

In a time when computers and other automatic devices are drastically affecting the types of jobs available, the schools act as though the world of work were the same as it was 20 or 30 years ago. In the chemical industry, between 1956 and 1961, output increased 38 percent while production jobs dropped 4 percent. Between 1955 and 1961, the jobs in the steel industry dropped by 126,100, while steel capacity increased 18 percent. The single farm hand could feed 26 persons in 1963; only 14 years ago, he could feed only 15. Yet . . .

• We have no educational plans at this time to equip children for the dislocations to come as a result of automation and the computer.

• Vocational education offerings in the public schools lag far behind the realities of business and industry in terms of content, equipment, and staff training.

• One million boys and girls leave school each year without a high school diploma. Yet fewer and fewer jobs are available for persons who have not completed high school.

• The popular attitude toward occupational, vocational, and technical education, among pupils, parents, teachers, and even counselors, reflects an intellectual snobbery that has critically curtailed the overdue revival of this arm of public education.

4. Separate and Unequal

The nonwhite population of our schools in some Southern States and in many large Northern cities are at an educational disadvantage:

• While many nonwhite boys and girls are enjoying a whole and rewarding school life, the great majority are not.

• In spite of declarations by State departments of education, human relations commissions, and the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare charging school leaders with the responsibility for active racial integration measures, the literal, physical task of integration remains a frustrating, unsolved problem.

• The big cities face a rapidly changing social composition in their pupil enrollment, as more and more middle-income white families move to the suburbs, leaving in the city families who cannot depart, for reason of color or poverty or both. This trend must be reversed, not only for the good of nonwhite boys and girls and the economic health of the cities, but also so that the children of the self-segregated white families can get, through a desegregated education, a better idea of the world they live in.

• In spite of serious efforts to break down the Negro ghettos by some means, such ghettos still remain in the North as well as in the South.

• Teachers in the schools in these Negro ghettos are (with many wonderful exceptions) of lower professional calibre than elsewhere. "Permanent" substitutes are more frequent. Classes are apt to be larger. Buildings are older, having been a part of the old central city. In such schools, hope is dimmer and pupil achievement is measurably much lower. Although there are in the large cities many public schools with mixed social populations, where teaching and pupil achievement match the best of the schools in high-income suburbs, the educational picture as a whole gives little promise for any early solution of the problem of providing equal educational opportunity for children not only *among* States but *within* States and cities.

• The deep poverty of many families, both white

and nonwhite, produces barriers to education that have not yet been truly comprehended in our educational programs. Third generations of families supported by public aid suggest a segment of our population living in chronic social dependency that the schools have not shaken.

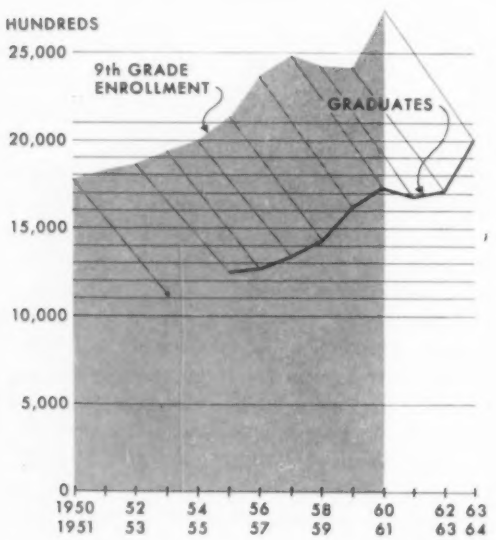
While these dismal unresolved issues do not alone give a true picture of education at the mid-point of the decade, they are reminders of urgent unfinished work, which is hardly begun.

The Brighter Side

Good things *are* happening in the schools. Perhaps the most promising developments that have taken place in this century are now going on in classrooms and educational planning councils across the land. Of great significance in this ferment are two forces: the increased availability of Federal funds for educational purposes; and the leadership by prominent national figures now reinforcing the movement for improved public education.

In spite of the aid-to-education controversy, major allocations of Federal funds are being placed in support of the public schools. This trend is compatible with one of the strong admonishments of the 1960 White House Conference: "That the Congress of the United States affirm . . . the . . . support of public education . . . authorizing substantial, continuous, and general financial support to the States. . . ." (Recommendation 116.)[1]

NINTH GRADERS WHO WENT ON TO GRADUATE



The shaded portions show ninth-grade enrollment as of the school year indicated at the bottom. The diagonal line shows how many students graduated 4 years later. Figures for graduates who were ninth graders in 1951–52 are not available.

Since 1959, ***the National Defense Education Act*** has infused grants and loans into education's blood stream totaling, to 1964 ,about $1 billion. The 1964 rate was $250,788,000, about three-fourths of 1 percent of the Nation's educational expenditures. But the impact has far surpassed this quantitative proportion. Nearly half the student loans have been made to young people from families with annual incomes under $4,000. The number of full-time counselors or their equivalents has increased 150 percent during NDEA's short period of influence since 1959. Both quantity and quality of high school mathematics, the natural sciences, and foreign language courses have increased. Course offerings and enrollment in technical education for high school students have increased fourfold during the period. The 1964 legislation broadened the scope of NDEA to include support for the full range of academic offerings in the public schools, thus departing from the military rationalization of the initial enactment. Support of institutes for intensive education of teachers in service in 1965 totals $37 million.

The National Science Foundation, as an equally powerful Federal instrument, is supporting the upgrading of about 40,000 science and mathematics teachers a year, most of them at high school level. During the past 10 years, 236,000 teachers have been involved in NSF retraining programs at a Federal cost of $259 million. The Foundation also supports other programs to improve science education in the schools, including research participation and special seminars for high school students, course-content improvement projects, and the provision of curriculum material.

The Cooperative Research Program, administered by the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, is spending about $16 million a year in encouraging the partnership between universities and public schools toward the development of new curricula in all academic fields. The education of handicapped children has also received long overdue attention through this activity.

Vocational education, including its new dimensions—occupational education for the slow and technical education for the swift—has found a new and lively place in the public schools through intensive Federal support. Modernization of course offerings,

retraining of teachers, upgrading of facilities and equipment are heavily encouraged in legislation passed in 1963. In 1965, over $118 million will flow to the public schools through this program, with increasing appropriations authorized for subsequent years.

In addition to this direct support for the public schools, the Federal Government has increased its support for libraries, research in mental health, and, under the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, vocational training. In 1964, the Federal expenditures for instruction alone totaled $79 million for 128,000 MDTA trainees, most of them adults studying in the public schools. Other Federal aid to education is given in the form of educational television; increased service to State departments of education; and the new Job Corps, work-training, and work-study programs under the Economic Opportunities Act.

Thus, while "general" Federal aid to education remains a controversial issue, substantial and highly effective Federal support is flowing to education today. Whether general or categorical—whether by grants, or by the circuitous route of an antipoverty program—whether or not infringing on local control (defense of which is often an excuse for safeguarding mediocrity)—desperately needed funds for the support of public schools are likely to flow increasingly from the Federal Treasury during the next half-decade.

Fresh Leadership

Leadership for improving the public schools has in recent years come from many persons of high standing, including top Federal officials and persons distinguished in other fields. Undoubtedly the most stimulating is the scientist James Bryant Conant, former college president and ambassador, who has become the dedicated champion of the public schools and a constructive contributor to their evolution. His nine books on education since 1945, from "General Education in a Free Society" [2] to the most recent, "Shaping Educational Policy," [3] have set school leaders throughout the country to rethinking the structure, policies, and methods of public education and teacher training. For example, his "Slums and Suburbs" [4] probably had as much to do as any of a number of converging forces with shifting the main stream of educational innovation, inquiry, and investment away from the suburbs and back to the big cities, where the numbers, problems, and potentials are of highest significance.

Countless other scholars have also provided constructive criticism of education today—the psychologist, Bruner of Harvard; Cremin, historian and philosopher; Zacharias, the physicist; Ralph Tyler, social scientist, to name only a few, all of whom have offered provocative suggestions for making schools into places where children might learn more effectively. Professional educators have a powerful new resource in this swiftly emerging concern of the scholars. Those who fear it or reject it have, themselves, already stopped leading.

Innovation

A third powerful force now emerging in the 1960's is a spirit of inquiry, change, experimentation, and critical thinking. Perhaps this new spirit is in part a product of the first two; but I think it would have come in any case.

There was a time, and there still is in some communities, when the term "educational experiment," or "research," was anathema. Boards of education that believed in the need for innovation found ways to camouflage any such item in the budget, lest it be noted by a suspicious public. School superintendents cloaked their innovations in cautiously phrased descriptions of activities "being tested for a trial period." Faculty committees, whose democratic consensus was sought on changes under consideration, either balloted not to change, or so reconciled differences as to remove any red blood from the experiment.

These circumstances seem now to have been overcome in most lively school systems. Any superintendent who does not have a notice of a recent research grant in his pocket, or an application for one, is likely to be pitied by his counterparts elsewhere. This, unfortunately, implies that good educational inquiry and innovation need some kind of outside money in order to flower. We will, I hope, pass through this period of relying wholly upon the Federal Government or large private foundations for getting the pump primed, and put research and development into their proper places as a function of the budget. We can continue to count on special grants for work on the cutting edge.

But the fact remains that innovation and change are fruitfully with us—including the opportunities for exciting and rewarding blunders. To those who, in defense of the "captive" children, raise cries of caution, I would reply that educational innovation, no matter how unsuccessful in a trial period, is likely to have little, if any, damaging effect on children.

Further, the offsetting excitement and intellectual adventure of participation is likely to prove an asset for the learner, no matter how dismal the "experimental failure." In fact, the mighty powers of fellow faculty scrutiny, parent opinion, fiscal curbs, and historic tradition are so ever-present that the child's education is well safeguarded against injudicious experimentation.

The aspects of education in innovative ferment are too numerous to be catalogued here. But they can be classified as dealing with four broad categories: (1) the learning process; (2) the technology of instruction: (3) the evolving curricula; and (4) the teacher.

The Learning Process

Among all the things educators admit to understanding only slightly is the process of learning itself. In this decade we are groping, with powerful allies from the field of child development, to learn more about learning. Numerous experiments are going on today to test ways of preparing young children for school—particularly children of the culturally deprived—and these are giving clues to the broader question of how children, in general, learn. They have underscored the growing realization of the importance of early stimulation to later learning. As a result, some school systems—for example, Baltimore and Pittsburgh—are experimenting in lowering the age of school entry for children from disadvantaged homes.

These and other inquiries into the way children learn have led to the following:

• A relook at the meaning of the "IQ," accompanied by an increased respect for creativeness.

• A search for relevant predictors of the potential of children from deprived neighborhoods. This has further shaken the educator's reliance on traditional intelligence tests.[5]

• The birth of occupational education—work-study programs of learning for high school boys and girls with low ability, low aspiration, and low academic performance. Society, no longer having a place for the dropout, can no longer tolerate the schools' abdication of its responsibility for the large portion of young people who are not stimulated to learn under the schools' regular programs. New teaching techniques, a different school day and year, different motivations and rewards, different goals will characterize this innovation, now barely off the ground.

• An increased curricular disparity between the very able and ambitious and the very slow but educable. One of the most spectacular successes in this period of educational ferment is the advanced placement program for swift learners. The achievements of young people in these programs have given educators a far greater appreciation than they once had of the mind of a 14- or 17-year-old.

• Investigations into ways of stimulating the learning processes of the emotionally disturbed child, the child with cerebral dysfunction or brain damage, the underachiever with a good mind not yet in motion. Much more needs to be learned about how atypical children can be helped to learn.

• Efforts to build a taxonomy of education. This will have heavy influence on testing and measurement, and thus on the processes of teaching and learning.

• A concern with providing compensatory education, from kindergarten through junior college, for persons previously deprived of appropriate educational opportunities.

• An evolution away from stereotyped classes and teacher-pupil ratios, including such innovations as team teaching, ungraded schools, and a rededication to individualized instruction.

The Technology of Instruction

Closely related to developments concerned with the learning process are the technological innovations now used in the teaching process. While the usefulness of many is still unproved, their prognosis is strong. For example:

• ***Educational television's*** worth as a powerful tool of learning within a school system is now becoming clear. The horrendous problems of scheduling, the fear of outside domination, the insecurity of teachers appear to be overcome as an appreciation develops of this means for deploying a distinguished teacher among thousands, rather than scores.

• ***Programed instruction,*** through the use of teaching machines or programed textbooks, though still not visibly affecting the main stream of education, is proving to be a valuable method for helping individual children to progress at their own learning pace. While the present devices have some shortcomings, the increased devotion to individualized teaching calls for an increase, rather than a rejection, of programed materials.

• ***A variety of mechanical aids*** for the teacher have become accepted classroom devices in the sixties. Among these are: the overhead projector, a device which allows even the technologically unsophisticated teacher to create and project visual materials

to emphasize her points; the 16-millimeter movie film and the television tape, used as springboards for class discussion; the tape recorder, especially useful in individualized instruction in spelling, English, and foreign languages.

• ***The learning laboratory*** is beginning to appear in some schools. This is a place—sometimes in the school, sometimes a mobile unit which goes from school to school—where the resources of instructional technology, the library, and a wise and creative teacher can be pooled for self-motivated, high-powered, individualized self-instruction, starting at about grade six or seven. Conceivably, the digital computer will one day be part of its equipment, not only as a device for information retrieval but as an instrument for self-teaching.

The effectiveness of all these mechanisms of instructional technology depends upon the quality of the program within their mechanical perimeter, and the degree of imaginative and nondefensive application by teachers.

The Evolving Curriculum

Teachers have long held that curriculum is by definition a process of constant and unrelenting innovation and evolution. But the tempo of change is faster today; the span of change larger; the acceptance of change more affirmative.

The change is heavily influenced by the preoccupation with increased academic rigor; by men who have brought top scholarship into a fruitful marriage with top teaching, planning, and design; and most of all by teachers who have themselves achieved a new self-esteem by demanding more of themselves and of children, and have found satisfaction on both counts.

The curriculum is responding swiftly to the modern surge of interest in mathematics and science. There are also new and steadily growing emphases on the language arts and social studies, manifested by the introduction of linguistics; a relook at methods of teaching reading; the systematic articulation of reading with the other academic content materials; and the conversion of social studies to the inductive method. And recently an emerging concern about the humanities is beginning to make itself felt, especially in the high schools.

Experimentation today has shed the esoteric trappings of a cult or "school," which burdened the progressive movement of the 1920's, and has become the rational choice of teachers and scholars at large. It is encouraged by the perceptive shift of large foundation resources into the developmental activities of the public schools.

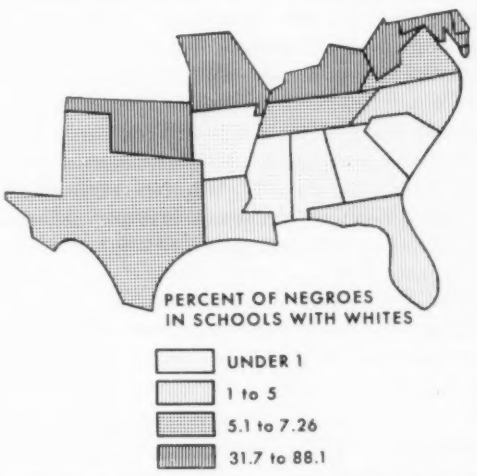
The Teaching Profession

The large variable that escapes ready description in this period of innovation is the profession of teaching itself. The effects of a massive force of 2 million professional people cannot be comprehended in any brief stock-taking. But certainly the corporate body of teachers *is* a part of today's educational ferment, along with the countless individual teachers who comprise it.

The variables within the profession are monstrous. In one State, for example, the average teacher's salary is about one-half that in the State with the highest average. There are States where 2 years of post high school education are sufficient credentials for teaching, while in other States 5 years are now required. Twenty-five percent of our high school mathematics teachers did not major in mathematics. The same is true, in varying degrees, of teachers of other subjects.

The tempo of education in the mid-sixties and the new expectations of our society call for two large responses by the education profession: to bend itself to continuous, systematic, and high quality inservice education at all levels; and to discover and champion the design for attracting into teaching a larger share

SCHOOL INTEGRATION IN THE SOUTH, 1964–65



The map, based on figures from the Southern Education Reporting Service, shows considerable progress toward school desegregation in some border States. In West Virginia, for example, 88.1 percent of Negro school children are in schools along with white children, and in Kentucky, 62.5 percent.

of the ablest young people choosing a career. On both counts the organized teacher has made heavy efforts, but too often these have been hampered by a crouching posture of defense—a preoccupation with salary recognition and with compensation for out-of-classroom work and inservice training.

In efforts to recruit wise and good young people for teaching, the profession has a distinguished record. Selfless commitment to supervising student teachers; sponsorship of future teacher groups, both formal and informal; constant persuasion of promising youth toward a teaching career are clearly on the record.

But so far these measures are not enough. The teaching profession over the next 10 years will require 1.7 million new people to staff the schools. This is approximately the number now employed!

We must find ways to elevate the teacher as a dignified and responsible professional person. Boards of education must provide the machinery through which teachers can assume a larger role in formulating educational and personnel policies and, within the limits of legal authority, give constructive response to teacher initiative. Boards must also seize the initiative in designing and funding dramatic salary improvements for teachers. Otherwise, teachers will increasingly look upon boards of education as adversaries, and will take collective measures to struggle *against* the administration and boards, rather than struggle *with* and *for* them.

The good things that are happening in the teaching profession are sound and promising. The thousands of teachers who have responded enthusiastically to the inservice educational opportunities of the National Defense Education Act, the National Science Foundation, and the cooperative research programs of the Federal Office of Education provide substantial testimony to the profession's vigor and vision in this mid-decade. The flowering of Master of Arts in Teaching programs in many universities gives liberal arts graduates a new corridor into teaching. The self-evaluation going on in most teacher-education institutions promises increased selectivity of teacher candidates and improved preparation of learned people for the classrooms.

Education For What?

In a recent work, "Education for Modern Man,"[6] Sidney Hook addresses himself to the issue of whether society can afford to be torn by a philosophical cleavage between the men of science and the men of the humanities. He writes:

> **Our schools must do many things but they will not teach us to understand other men and other cultures, other idea patterns and ideologies, merely by adding courses in mathematics and physics to the curriculum. . . . Moreover, the processes of social change have been just as opaque to humanists of predominantly literary culture as to natural scientists. The sneers that natural scientists sometimes direct against the . . . social sciences reveal a too-narrow conception of science, and an underestimation of the amount of knowledge, vague and inexact as it may be, which we already bring to bear in controlling and understanding human behavior. The issues of war and peace, freedom and enslavement, international law and government in a world of cultural and social diversity are issues central to what may legitimately be called the "third culture."**

In seeking to comprehend in these few pages the state of our schools at this mid-point in the decade, we have been aiming at a swiftly moving target. In this time of ferment, it is possible that education in America, through innovation, experimentation, and inquiry, is moving toward Hook's "third culture."

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[1] Golden Anniversary White House Conference on Children and Youth: Recommendations—composite report of forum findings. National Committee on Children and Youth, Washington, D.C. 1960.

[2] Conant, James B.: General education in a free society. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1945.

[3] ———: Shaping educational policy. McGraw-Hill, New York. 1964.

[4] ———: Slums and suburbs; a commentary on schools in metropolitan areas. McGraw-Hill, New York. 1961.

[5] Hunt, J. McVicker: How children develop intellectually. *Children*, May–June 1964.

[6] Hook, Sidney: Education for modern man, a new perspective. Alfred A. Knopf, New York. 1963.

. . . what happens in kindergarten may largely determine whether a child will later be in college or on relief.

From* "Educational Responsibilities of the Federal Government," *report of the Educational Policies Commission, National Education Association, 1964.

INNOVATIONS IN COMBATING JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

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THE 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth gave substantial attention to the problem of juvenile delinquency, and included among its numerous recommendations many focused specifically on ways of coping with the problem. What progress has been made toward their implementation? What remains to be done? In the light of what has happened during these past 5 years, do the recommendations still appear to be valid?

An exhaustive review of the many developments which have taken place in this short space of time would take a book. However, since much of what has occurred has been affected directly or indirectly by Federal action—action recommended by the Conference—it is appropriate to review this and its effect on community programs to combat delinquency.

The seeds for such action were, in fact, planted nearly a decade before the 1960 Conference.

Shortly after the previous White House Conference in 1950, a special juvenile delinquency project was established, located within the Children's Bureau but supported by voluntary funds and concerned with stimulating action across the country to cope with what was already defined as a serious national problem. Partly as a result of this project, Congress by 1955 had recognized the need for greater Federal leadership in this field. A Senate investigation had been launched and an appropriation had been made to allow the Children's Bureau to establish a Division of Juvenile Delinquency Service, offering expanded consultative services to States and local communities.

The 1960 White House Conference called for further expansion of the Federal role, asking that a Federal commission be appointed "to advise the President and Congress on matters relating to delinquency, including general coordination of Federal activities in this field. . . ." It also recommended that Federal funds be provided to State and local governments on a matching basis for programs of prevention and control of delinquency. In addition, the Conference called for expansion of the Children's Bureau anti-delinquency program, and for the provision of Federal scholarships in the behavioral sciences and of training grants to institutions following "the current pattern of training grants for the National Institute of Mental Health." [1] (Recommendation 525. Hereafter, specific recommendations will be cited by number only.)

Beginning in the late fifties, a number of measures had been introduced in Congress which anticipated some of the aims embodied in the recommendations of the 1960 Conference. In the Senate the late Senator Estes Kefauver and Senator Thomas Dodd of Connecticut were particularly interested in such legislation, as was Congresswoman Edith Green of Oregon in the House. Legislation was not passed, however, until after the election of President Kennedy. Then the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961 provided for many but not all of the measures advocated by the 1960 Conference. It broke new ground, however, in providing for direct grants to communities to help fight delinquency.

In anticipation of the act's passage, President Kennedy had established, through Executive order, the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, composed of the Attorney General as chairman, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Secretary of Labor; and a Citizens Advisory Council composed of persons of a variety of professions and interests who were especially concerned with the delinquency problem.

The Congress gave the committee a major policy-

making role in carrying out the provisions of the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act, but the responsibility for the act's administration was placed in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Thus the policies adopted in making the grants were worked out by the Department in consultation with the President's Committee and its Advisory Council. In this article the resulting program will be referred to as the PCJD program.

Of major influence in the direction this program took were the theories of the sociologist Lloyd E. Ohlin, a professor at the Columbia University School of Social Work, who was brought to Washington, D.C., as special assistant to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare at the suggestion of David L. Hackett, the executive director of the President's Committee. Dr. Ohlin gave the program a focus that resulted in its having a tremendous impact on the national conception of the problem of delinquency and of the most desirable approach to its resolution.

Theoretical Base

Dr. Ohlin's theories on delinquency had already been spelled out in a volume he wrote with another sociologist and social worker, Richard A. Cloward.[2] Their essential thesis, which has come to be known as the opportunity theory, is that most delinquency is bred in the slums where young people do not have real access to the ladders that lead to social betterment. Many such youngsters are victims of racial discrimination which has impeded their chances for living in decent housing, and for securing a good education, health care, and job placement. Whether victims of racial discrimination or not, children of the chronic poor, from whom the great proportion of delinquents are drawn, are—because of social, economic, physical, and cultural deprivations—severely disadvantaged in the race for life's material rewards by the time they reach kindergarten age.

Ohlin and Cloward suggest that such deprivations induce youngsters to turn to forbidden acts to achieve the gratifications that they cannot secure through socially sanctioned means. If this thesis is correct, then it follows that even the best individual treatment of the delinquent through clinics, courts, or institutions can do little to stem the tide of delinquency. At best, successful treatment would help the individual delinquent to develop his own capacities to the point where he could climb out of the social morass; it would not get at the root cause of the bulk of delinquency, which, according to opportunity theory, is in the social apparatus of the slum.

A derivative of this theory is the idea that what is needed to curb much of slum delinquency is nothing short of making the American dream come true for everyone. In other words, the successful antidelinquency program is one that provides for cultural, educational, and job achievement—not merely through general improvement of social institutions but through their specific adaptation to meet the needs of the socially deprived.

Prior to the passage of the Federal legislation, work had begun on a program developed around opportunity theory, to be conducted on the lower East Side of New York City. This program was called "Mobilization for Youth" (MFY). An important part of its many-faceted plan, for example, was the establishment of new work-training opportunities. Among other projects, MFY induced a leading oil firm to open a filling station for training purposes. A most important dimension of the MFY plan is the development of social power among the heretofore relatively powerless residents of this deprived area, through helping them express their needs by use of the democratic process.

Mobilization for Youth became the first demonstration effort to receive funds under the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act. It is true that later programs supported under the act departed radically from opportunity theory, since the President's Committee and DHEW required no theoretical orthodoxy but encouraged programs based on different theories; but it is also true that certain ideas related to opportunity theory gave important coloration to the total program—the emphasis, for example, on job and school achievement rather than on individualized therapy.

Emphasis on Planning

The act did not provide funds to be matched by State and local governments for ongoing services, as the White House Conference had recommended. It provided for support of research and demonstration projects and for training programs. Since the Federal funds authorized for the program were limited to $10 million a year for 3 years (the program was later extended), the decision was made to use what was appropriated for a few massive demonstration programs, rather than for supporting many small service-oriented programs. This decision arose from the conviction that the direction of the program had to be toward major adaptation of existing institutions. Obviously, this could not be done by the type of single-service demonstration program with which

the welfare field has for so long been familiar.

Because institutional change was sought, the demonstration grants were generally preceded by initial grants for a planning process—a process which, being based on the gathering of facts and the delineation of problems, could serve not only as the basis for the development of programs but also as a baseline to measure change resulting from programs. In this connection, it was held that the demonstration programs must represent not merely lip service to language that would produce funds but the convictions of those who could produce change about what changes were necessary. Thus it was required that planning for the demonstration involve the residents of the neighborhood where the program was to be launched, and also the decision-makers in town—representatives of business, labor, the clergy, women's groups, political leaders, and the like.

Since some of the conventional planning structures could not deliver the kind of planning process required, new *ad hoc* planning groups were formed in many communities. This fact alone gave rise to a reconsideration in many places of the relative merits of social planning and coordination as methods for attacking America's social problems.

The 1960 White House Conference had seen coordination in familiar terms. It had recommended a State citizens' committee with professional staff in each State "to achieve better coordination and effectiveness of all agencies." Largely as a consequence of the PCJD program, the emphasis on coordination of agency services that marked the White House Conference of 1960 will probably be absent in 1970. Today many people realize that while coordination is necessary for operation at maximum efficiency, it is essentially a process of negotiation between vested interests of equal power. Coordination makes what *is* more effective; it in no way insures that appropriate services will be effectively delivered to those most in need. To achieve this end, social planning is needed. The PCJD program definitely demonstrated that reliance on conventional coordinating devices is *passé* as a panacea for social problems.

Demonstration Projects

The PCJD made 16 planning grants. Of the communities which received these, about one-half received grants which enabled them to launch demonstration and research projects. Needless to say, these projects varied in quality and performance from "very weak" to "genuine social breakthrough." In general, the major emphasis on each program was the adaptation

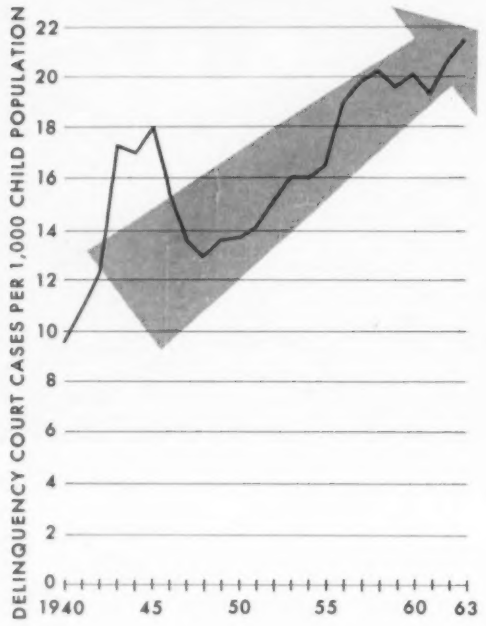
One of the outdoor reading classes in a camp sponsored by a community program for prevention of juvenile delinquency.

of school programs, work training and placement, welfare, correctional, health, and recreational services in order to open up new opportunities for achievement for socially deprived youngsters. Although practically all projects provided for some individualized services, the emphasis was on the use of individual social or psychological treatment to help youngsters get a better education and enter the labor market.

This emphasis on the provision of opportunities to all youth in areas where delinquency is high is in marked contrast to the 1960 White House Conference recommendations, which seem to be based on the assumption that delinquency prevention and control mean treatment of the individual delinquent. For example, a key White House Conference recommendation calls for expansion and coordination of "a full sequence of services, including referral, short-term and long-term therapy, emergency services, rehabilitation, aftercare services, and research" (529).

Today, as a consequence of the PCJD program, such an exclusive emphasis on treatment would be viewed as naive. The emphasis has shifted from rearranging the delinquent, so that he will respond to society in a more acceptable way, to rearranging society. Specifically, the end sought is a school, a family, a job, and a health and welfare system that are responsive to the needs of the deprived and can reincorporate the social exile into the larger community. The emphasis has shifted from the effort to use a therapist to convert the lower class delinquent

RATES IN JUVENILE DELINQUENCY, 1940–63
Per Child Population Ages 10–17



to middle class values, to the creation of communities in which the value of full development of each human being is articulated in the structures of the community. The delinquent is no longer seen as merely in need of conversion to the value system of the larger community. The aim is to change the community's values and so secure changes in educational, health, and welfare systems to eliminate the social shutting-out that breeds delinquency.

The PCJD operated on the theory that the process of reincorporation necessitated the involvement of slum dwellers in the planning and management of the antidelinquency programs. Thus, to some extent, each demonstration project has sought to help the residents of the target area take action to improve their own social situation. Residents of such areas, it had been found, felt powerless in the face of bureaucratic authority. They lacked skills necessary to deal with representatives of social institutions in an effective, constructive manner. To help them gain such skills and a sense of themselves as participants in a democratic structure, the projects try, through the work of patient, sensitive, and skillful staff, to help them assess their social problems as citizens and work toward their solution.

If, for example, the residents of a remote rural community complain of lack of school transportation, the social worker may suggest that they meet together to discuss this need. When the meeting occurs the neighbors may, for the first time, realize their power as citizens and the possibilities it gives them for affecting bureaucratic decision-making. Even when the situation does not change, the people may. At worst, they will be disillusioned and frustrated. At best, they may gain the competence as participating citizens that guarantees social progress.

The 1960 White House Conference recommended that "in designing preventive programs, organizations listen to suggestions and recommendations made by delinquents themselves" (537). Few of the Conference participants could have anticipated the extent to which the helpers and the helped would enter into partnership in the years which followed.

Nor could they have anticipated the extent to which the helped would become helpers, for part of the effort to involve residents of target areas in the solution of their own problems has been their employment to help one another. One of the most successful elements in the Mobilization for Youth project, for example, has been in the use of more successful pupils in schools in deprived neighborhoods as tutors for less successful pupils. Still another has been the employment of women successful in home management to help neighbors who are less successful in this area.

The participants of the 1960 White House Conference seemed to accept the view, current at the time, that the helpers needed full professional training and that the utilization of untrained personnel was an act of desperation. The Conference called for training of "pediatricians, obstetricians, teachers, ministers, lawyers, welfare workers, probation officers, school social workers, psychologists, as well as psychiatrists" for work with delinquents (525). The need for more persons in all these professions is still pronounced, but there is a growing appreciation of the contribution to the helping process of persons who have no degrees but who do have native qualities and a life-style that places them *en rapport* with submerged groups.

Training Grants

In addition to the demonstration grants, the PCJD has given a number of training grants. However, contrary to the recommendation of the Conference, these grants have not followed "the current pattern . . . for the National Institute of Mental Health," since they have been made for short-term training only, as prescribed by the act. The effort has been

through workshops, institutes, and the like to provide the specialists with the extra training that might help them deal more successfully with delinquency.

To provide these training opportunities, 12 interdisciplinary training centers have been established with PCJD support. The emphasis has been on interdisciplinary training, because the knowledge needed by persons who work with delinquents can be culled from a variety of professions.

The existence of the PCJD program has accentuated the critical shortage of persons trained in the helping professions, and the situation has been further aggravated by the launching of other significant national programs in the health and welfare field. The time is more than ripe for the full implementation of Conference recommendation 525, not only in the interest of delinquency prevention and control but also in the interest of the diverse but related national efforts to solve pressing social problems.

Evaluation and Research

As might be expected, the Conference, in a number of recommendations, called for additional research. It specifically recommended the development of predictive devices for early identification of the potential delinquent, expansion of knowledge about the causation of delinquency, and inquiry into the relationship between slow learning and delinquency. It also asked for improvement of statistical techniques and consultative services for the evaluation of community antidelinquency programs (546).

The PCJD program requires scientific evaluation of the demonstration effort. From such research there will undoubtedly emerge new knowledge concerning the causes of delinquency and the relationship of slow learning to these causes. More important, there will be substantial data on the effectiveness of different methods of dealing with delinquency.

The Conference recommendation concerning predictive devices, which came out of one workshop, was somewhat at variance with the recommendation of another workshop, which asked schools not to "label" children as vulnerable to delinquency "solely on the basis of prediction scales" (547). This paradox was the result of different points of view concerning the proposals of Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck of Harvard University, who have long been engaged in studies concerning delinquency and its prediction.[3] Since 1960, the New York City Youth Board has completed its study of the Glueck prediction table and reports that there are valid predictors for discriminating at an early age between those children who are likely to become delinquent and those who are not.[4] This study, however, has already been subject to vigorous criticism.[5] [See page 83.] Future use of such instruments will probably be determined partially by the treatment strategies employed and partially by the results of similar studies focused on children living under conditions different from those of the boys who were the subjects of the Youth Board study.

If the focus remains on adaptation of community institutions, then the impact is on all children in a neighborhood and discrimination concerning who is the most vulnerable is somewhat beside the point for treatment, but very important for the purpose of evaluating program impact. If, on the other hand, the focus shifts to tailor-made programs for vulnerable children, prediction becomes of paramount treatment importance. A validated prediction scale marks the youngsters likely to become delinquent unless there is successful intervention; they then become treatment targets. Further work on the Glueck prediction table by responsible researchers and practitioners may shed light on what type of intervention works with which "potential delinquent."

The Conference's recommendation regarding improved statistical techniques has received consistent attention from the Children's Bureau. With the assistance of the National Council of Juvenile Court Judges and others, the Bureau recently designed a "model" juvenile court statistical card which is to be the foundation of an improved local-state-Federal reporting plan. While the new plan is not yet in operation, the Bureau, under the auspices of the PCJD, has initiated another experimental plan through which it receives monthly reports from large-city courts providing information on reasons delinquency cases were referred to court and on their disposition—a type of data not collected in the current local-State-Federal annual reporting plan. The Bureau's continued annual statistical reports on juvenile delinquency show that, in 1961, delinquency court cases decreased (1 percent) from the previous year for the first time since 1948; in 1962, they again increased—by 10 percent; and in 1963 they increased by 8 percent.[6]

Rehabilitation Services

The Conference's concern with the treatment and rehabilitation of delinquent children and youth has been answered in part by stepped-up consultation services to communities provided by the Children's Bureau through its Division of Juvenile Delinquency Service, by the National Council on Crime and De-

linquency, and to a lesser degree by the PCJD program. The Conference especially stressed the need for improvement of police and court services, institutional care, and aftercare (542). Since police and court services, which are largely local in structure, have suffered for want of manpower and resources, the Conference looked to the development of State leadership to strengthen them (528A, 530). There has been some movement in this direction, but not of a substantial nature.

As a matter of fact, improvement in the services for the apprehended or adjudicated delinquent is steady but very slow. The PCJD until recently has given little attention to this aspect of delinquency control, and though leadership has been available through local, State, and national public and voluntary agencies, there has so far been no solution to the lack of money, manpower, and technical knowledge that inhibit full development. These fundamental lacks are complicated by the public attitude toward the apprehended or adjudicated delinquent, which is an amalgam of fear and hostility.

As the mid-point between White House Conferences arrives, the PCJD is turning its attention to demonstration-reasearch projects concerned with a sharp focus on the delinquent himself. This shift in emphasis is due to the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, which, in Title II, makes possible grants to local communities for community action programs[7] very similar to the programs launched as antidelinquency demonstration projects under the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961. The Economic Opportunity Act was designed to provide the means whereby the poor may participate in programs to enable them to climb out of their poverty through job and school achievement—essentially the conception which undergirded the PCJD demonstration endeavors.

Evidence of this similarity is found in the degree to which communities are using experience gained in planning or conducting PCJD projects to design their antipoverty programs. Title II calls for the maximum involvement of the poor in planning and conducting programs, thus echoing a concern manifest in the PCJD program. As a matter of fact, the White House Conference recommendations concerning prevention of delinquency through youth conservation camps, resident schools, day-care facilities, and improved school facilities (527, 534) will be implemented, at least partially, by programs made possible under the Economic Opportunity Act.

The passage of the Economic Opportunity Act enables the PCJD to turn its attention to those young people most difficult to help, who may well escape the attention of the more massive programs. The Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, which administers the PCJD program for DHEW, is now refocusing attention to the hard-core delinquent. Since the Office is now in the Welfare Administration, its program can be closely coordinated with the work of the Children's Bureau and the Bureau of Family Services.

With the Economic Opportunity Act providing new structures for the incorporation of deprived people into the benefits of the affluent society, the local, State, and national agencies specifically concerned with delinquency can tackle the difficult task of reincorporating the delinquent into such a society. Among the tasks that lie ahead are:

1. Insuring that programs aimed at increasing job and school achievement involve hard-core delinquents.
2. Applying some of the advances in programed instruction to the delinquent's education.
3. Altering the culture of the institutions for delinquents so that they can influence, and so change, the value system of the delinquent.
4. Finding ways and means through which constructive plans for changes in existing health, welfare, and educational institutions can be evolved by those to whom these institutions belong and can be carried out to successful conclusions.

One can be certain that the 1970 White House Conference will find much that remains to be done. Enough has happened, however, in the first 5 years of the sixties to insure that the problems faced by the conferees in 1970 will be of a different order from those that preoccupied the work groups on delinquency in Washington, D.C., in 1960.

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[1] Golden Anniversary White House Conference on Children and Youth: Recommendations—composite report of forum findings. National Committee for Children and Youth, Washington, D.C. 1960.

[2] Ohlin, Lloyd E.; Cloward, Richard A.: Delinquency and opportunity. The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill. 1960.

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[7] "The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964." *Children*, September–October 1964, page 198.

PERSPECTIVES IN YOUTH EMPLOYMENT

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ONE OF THE MAJOR contributions of the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth was to focus attention on the problems of adolescents and young adults in becoming contributing members of society. Several trends accounted for this concern—the effect on employment opportunities of the recession of 1958, the rapid rise in the skill level demanded for entry workers, and the fact that the high birth rate of the forties was going to produce a net increase of 26 million young workers in the decade of the sixties. In the ensuing 5 years, communities have designed a variety of programs to help those young people who are unable either to stay in school or find jobs.

In these efforts, communities have been assisted by various Federal programs—most notably the programs for work training under the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 and the growing emphasis in the U.S. Employment Service on helping local employment services provide special counseling and placement services for young people. So far, however, these programs have not been widespread enough to be regarded as anything but demonstrations. For example, while 100,000 training positions for youth have been created under MDTA since its inception, a large proportion of these have been made available only since November 1964, so that their effects cannot yet be measured. Similarly, while the U.S. Employment Service has plans for organizing 138 youth-opportunity centers in major metropolitan areas by July 1, 1965, only a half dozen of these are now in operation. And the mass efforts which will be generated under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 are only now getting under way.

Nevertheless, while the effects of a more massive approach to training, counseling, and placement efforts cannot now be assessed, it is pertinent to look at some of the problems and dilemmas involved in efforts to help young people find a niche in society.

The Problem

Looking at recent trends in youth employment, it is clear that:

1. The national dropout rate is falling, and there is a steady increase in the proportion of youth enrolled in school. In 1963, for example, 93 percent of all youth 14 to 17 were in school, compared with 83 percent in 1950. Nevertheless, a 1963 sample of 16- to 21-year-old dropouts showed one-third had left school by the time they were 16.[1]

2. Unemployment is higher among dropouts than among high school graduates, but the differential is decreasing.

3. In spite of an enormous economic upsurge in 1963 and 1964, there are still about 1 million unemployed youth between the ages of 16 and 24 who are not enrolled in school and who have not completed college. The overall unemployment rate for the out-of-school 16–24 age group has been between 11 to 12 percent ever since 1959.[2]

4. If one looks at various subgroupings in the youth population, the figures are more startling. For example, in February 1963, unemployment among nonwhites 16 to 21 was 25.8 percent, compared with 18.6 percent for this age group as a whole.[1] The differential between nonwhites and whites is, of course, even greater.

Data on specific age, sex, and ethnic groupings in the labor force tend to show that while the economy has been able to absorb a certain number of youth at all skill levels, the residual has not grown smaller; entry jobs have increased neither as rapidly as the

population nor as the Nation's economic growth.

Concern for youth in their work role impinges on all the social science disciplines, both in theory and in practice. A leading child psychiatrist, Dr. Leon Eisenberg, for example, has said:

> It cannot be too highly emphasized that the psychological basis for a sense of individual worth as an adult rests upon the acquisition of competence in a work role during the stage of adolescence. A sense of competence is not required on the basis of "reassurance" but rather upon the actual experience of succeeding in a socially important task.[3]

Many anthropologists and sociologists are concerned about the development of a so-called "youth culture," in which young people tend to substitute peer group norms for adherence to values of the larger society. They point out that this kind of youth culture, alien to most adult standards, seems to develop as a response to lengthened dependency. Whether or not the group adhering to it is delinquent, it offers a spurious identity in lieu of opportunity for constructive social participation.

Apart from economic considerations, the inability of the adult society to plan for the meaningful participation of youth makes the burden of maturation more difficult and prolongs the process, often to unbearable lengths. It is significant that at age 24 the unemployment rate among young workers becomes the same as the overall rate. Thus young people seem to have to "age" into the labor force. Until they do this, they have little opportunity to make their contribution to the economy. And in most communities, few other opportunities to participate constructively in the society of adults are open.

Dr. Eisenberg also has pointed out that—

> At a psychological level, the most striking attainment during the adolescent period is the ability to conceptualize at an abstract level. . . . It is this capacity for abstract thought that accounts for the increasing concern of the adolescent, on the one hand, with problems at a national and international level and, on the other, with the basic meanings and values of human existence.[3]

A society that does not utilize this quality, often manifested in "idealism," deprives itself of a highly significant contribution that youth can make.

This is a concern that goes beyond poverty and beyond the job problems of the "slow learner" or the dropout, involving as it does not only the question of opportunities for employment but also for service to society in other ways. It is, nevertheless, related to the preoccupations of the delinquency specialist, the educator, and the manpower specialist.

Unfortunately, when actual program is undertaken, the notion of meaningful participation tends to be watered down to the provision of "work experience." There is a commonly accepted idea that remunerative employment of *any* kind can bridge the gap and bring the motivations and aspirations of deprived youth intc line with the rest of society. This idea has not met with notable success in practice, possibly because the kinds of opportunities available have not served to develop individuals either in terms of social participation or of occupational training.[4] The Neighborhood Youth Corps, now being established under the Economic Opportunity Act to provide paid jobs in public or voluntary agencies to a large number of youth, should furnish an adequate test of the developmental value of short-term work experience under a variety of conditions.

Program Complexity

Placement. Not all program development involves this kind of simplification. In fact, sophistication in design has increased enormously.[5] Not so long ago, almost all community approaches to youth employment were initiated on the assumption that placement in a job was the critical service need. This assumption has some basis in fact.

The most common way to get a job in the United States is through personal contact or direct application to a known source of employment. The availability of such contacts and information depends on the milieu of the individual. Youth who are members of severely deprived families not only lack role models of workers, but also are cut off from access to the kinds of specific vocational help available to children of stable working-class or middle-class families. Placement service, therefore, seems to be the logical substitute for familial intervention.

Unfortunately, however, placement service is not always an adequate substitute for personal influence. Families who will add a relative to a marginal small business will not take on a stranger; and the recommendation of an employment service, no matter how well grounded, is often not as effective as an introduction from a neighbor. Placement service can perform two important functions—it can make a better match between the individual and his job, and it can reduce the time between jobs. At any level less than full employment, however, entry level jobs for high school graduates and dropouts tend to be filled by young people who have some direct access to the job.

The intervention afforded by placement services can be of help in finding employment for youth who

lack such access. But the number of placements reported in a given program is seldom a reliable guide to its success; there is no way of telling how many placements have been in casual employment, characterized by short duration or high turnover.

Counseling. Whatever the success of placement attempts, there is almost always a residual group for whom no job of any kind can be found. In this group are young people with serious problems of health or behavior. Others, however, who are willing and able to work, can find no place under current labor market conditions. No one knows for certain the relative number of these two quite different types, but the tendency of program designers is to treat them all as if they were "unemployable." When the problem is viewed in this way, the natural tendency is to cast about for ways to make the "unemployable" employable, and the resulting programs are essentially rehabilitative.

General Preparation for Work. As youth employment programs have developed in recent years, the two chief elements have been work experience and counseling, although in forms significantly different from those used in the past.

Traditional vocational counseling is not always appropriate in dealing with disadvantaged youth. As a technique, it is designed to help individuals make realistic choices, assuming, of course, that there are alternatives. Given present job requirements and testing procedures, many young people, especially those whose aptitudes and interests have remained unstimulated, find it hard to see why they should engage in discussion geared to choices they do not have. Counseling in new programs, therefore, has taken on a conditioning pattern in which individuals or groups are exposed to facts about the job market, the need for punctuality and industriousness, and requirements of neatness and good grooming.

Work experience provided for youth traditionally has been related to apprenticeship, in the sense that some kinds of training can most usefully be acquired on the job. Both colleges and secondary schools have used such vocationally oriented work experience for many years as an integral part of curriculum. In youth employment programs, however, work experience has a somewhat different purpose. Here it is not geared to acquisition of specific skills, but, in much the same manner as counseling, to conditioning—on the theory that exposure to the demands of any kind of work will have a beneficial effect on work habits and attitudes.

An instructor works with his group of students, in a training center for youth in Kanawha County, West Virginia.

We have called this combination of elements "general preparation for employment," since it is designed as a bridge to the labor market in general, rather than to specific kinds of occupations. Starting with the Detroit Job Upgrading Program in the forties, general preparation programs have grown in number. Sometimes tryout shops have been substituted for work experience, and there have been experiments with counseling techniques, but the combination of some kind of individual counseling or group guidance and of one or another form of work experience is always included.

Occupational Training. Yet another step in program development has been the addition of a skill-training component. Basically, those who have advocated this tactic or put it into practice have proceeded on the assumption that mere good will and amenability are not enough, and that the unemployed need something to sell employers.

The problems in organizing short-term training programs are many, and the rewards have not been great. Many recognized occupations have standard training pathways. Others do not actually require training. In between are a number of occupations on which disagreement about requirements is so great that the fulfillment of the program does not necessarily accredit the young worker.

The original provisions of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 tended to screen out severely disadvantaged youth, but later amendments extended the benefits to reach more of them.

. . . The eligibility age was lowered from 19 to 17, the weekly allowance for most youth in training was raised to $20, and administrators of programs were informed that 25 percent

of all persons receiving training allowances could be youth under age 22. . . .

The main reason for these amendments was to permit new and special programs for those youth with inadequate education to qualify for regular MDTA training. It made it possible for young trainees to draw training allowances for an additional 20 weeks for "the development of the basic educational skills."[6]

Special youth programs developed under the new regulations:

". . . shall include guidance, counseling, testing, and occupational training, and may include basic education, social adjustment, job development, placement and follow-up services and other instruction or special services tailored to meet the needs of individual youths."

Since then 59 such "special youth projects" have been approved by the Department of Labor. They will train nearly 30,000 youths in a variety of occupations, for an estimated cost of $47 million. Thus far, 11,630 young persons have enrolled in the special programs and 7,541 of them have been given instruction in basic education. Nearly 2,000 have already completed their schooling, and of these, 1,004 have gotten jobs.[6]

Experience shows that the new special programs are reaching more disadvantaged youth than the regular MDTA training. For example, 35 percent had 12 years of schooling, compared with 60 percent in regular projects. Most of these projects have not been in operation long enough for published results, so that judgment about the longer range effects on the trainees must await careful followup and evaluation.

A few training programs, paid for by employers, on the model developed by companies in Chicago and now getting under way in Newark, N.J., have employed disadvantaged youth and offered them training both on the job and in the classroom. They include large department stores, utilities, financial institutions, and large manufacturers with service operations. This is a clearly superior adaptation, since the job itself becomes part of the present rather than of some nebulous future. The growth of this type of program has been slow; there are probably under 1,000 youth involved all over the country.

The Youth Development Focus. In a few cases, programs, by combining all possible elements, have sought to insure that a youth will reach his maximum potential. Focusing on individual deficits, they offer remediation in basic educational subjects, occupational training, work experience, counseling, and placement services. Often these are truly innovative in their approach to the target populations, in the introduction of such new techniques as programed instruction for the teaching of technical subjects, or in the use of some of the techniques of vocational rehabilitation such as the sheltered workshop.

For example, the newly created Job Corps, under the Economic Opportunity Act, is adding to existing innovations the concept of the residential center. Just as the Neighborhood Youth Corps will afford a massive test of work experience, the Job Corps—under which youths in camps and urban residential centers are given work experience, training, and educational opportunities—provides an opportunity to see what a wholly new institutional form will add to the stock of program possibilities.

Unfortunately, the search for new program ideas sometimes becomes an end in itself. The paradox is that the more successful the rehabilitative techniques employed, and the more individuals are not only persuaded but trained to work, the more necessary it is to have actual jobs available in which to place them. And under the present pace of technological change, the jobs available today may not be those available tomorrow.

The best placement experience of recent employment services for youth has been from 20 to 30 percent of registration. Of course, the more restrictive the selection, the higher the placement rate; but where undifferentiated populations of unemployed youth are recruited, the results are far from encouraging.[7] Limited numbers of youth can be placed at great cost in time and effort, particularly if the job developers are not too concerned about the future of the job or the potential of the youngster. But a program may make a youth "employable" without necessarily finding him employment. Rehabilitative programs are most beneficial when directed at developing special kinds of manpower in short supply.

To some extent, this fact accounts for much of the current emphasis on increasing the national supply of college graduates and professionals. The most obvious shortages are in the higher level occupations, but even where the demand for such trained personnel can be made economically effective, the time necessary to produce them is considerable. It is perfectly possible to agree that increasing the general educational level of the population is the most urgent long-term goal, but there is little hope in the short run of materially affecting the prospects of unemployed out-of-school youth with such a strategy.

It is often alleged that vacancies also exist in certain low-level service occupations. To the extent that such shortages are real, the problem is clearly not connected with training, since the skills required of a hospital aide, for example, can be learned in a relatively brief period on the job. The trouble lies

in the way work is organized, in marginal pay scales, and in the obvious dead-end quality of the position. That the most menial work is highly prized when these problems are dealt with can be seen in the case of municipal sanitation departments where garbage collectors are relatively well-paid and have the security afforded by civil service and opportunity for upgrading to administrative positions within the department. The difference in how the question is characterized is illustrated by August Heckscher's contrast of the view of the man who—

> . . . says in effect, that there cannot be any real problem of unemployment because his wife cannot get a cook, or because his hedges go untrimmed for want of a gardener. . . .

with the question of—

> . . . why these needs are not satisfied and how we can organize the economic system so as to make it more responsive to what men and women require for their pleasures, their conveniences, their comforts and their spiritual delights.[8]

Where Will Jobs Come From?

Mr. Heckscher's reflections imply that ways must be found to create both new jobs and the opportunity for different kinds of people to participate in the labor force. For these purposes, it is necessary to investigate the possibilities of redesigning existing jobs and the expansion of manpower demand based on estimates of needed goods and services in addition to those now being produced.

Hiring Standards. There is some question as to whether present standards of screening and hiring in industry are based on efficiency, or whether they merely reflect the possibilities of "creaming" that a surplus labor market provides. For example, in suggested training programs for a series of service occupations, prepared by McGraw Hill, Inc., under contract with the U.S. Office of Education, it is recommended that candidates for the following occupations be high school graduates: clothing maintenance specialist, family dinner service specialist, landscape aide, and forestry aide.[9]

Involved in the issue of job qualifications, too, is the question of what people filling specific jobs actually do. Many professionals, for example, in fields like teaching, social work, and even engineering, spend a great deal of time on routine clerical or drafting tasks that could be separated from their function with obvious gains in efficient use of personnel.

Some economists are concerned with alleged low productivity in occupations providing community and personal services, particularly since it is only in the non-goods-producing sectors of the economy that employment has been increasing.[10] But in the field of services, it is not at all clear that the addition of more personnel necessarily lowers productivity. On the contrary, it might free better-trained people—professionals in extremely short supply—to perform more difficult functions. With nurses as supervisors and administrators, it is possible to improve hospital service through the employment of aides and orderlies. With social caseworkers involved in therapeutic processes, someone—most likely at a lesser level of training—should be available to make home and collateral visits and act as a bridge between community services and their clients.

Instances of this kind can be multiplied. What is involved is the building of new career lines to engage the energies of many potential workers who now have no opportunity to contribute to the larger society. Some experimentation is going on along these lines today in the teaching, nursing, and social work fields, but a great deal more needs to be done. Perhaps the experience gained by health, welfare, and educational agencies, in providing youth with service opportunities through participating in the work-study programs of the Neighborhood Youth Corps, will provide some directional signals to the kinds of jobs that can be created which will simultaneously alleviate pressure on perennially scarce professional personnel and open career doors to young people.

Job Creation. There is a school of thought exemplified by Robert Theobald and the members of the Ad Hoc Committee for the Triple Revolution, who are ready to abandon the search for employment opportunity on the grounds that automation is destroying jobs faster than they can be created. Such despair seems premature when so many unfinished tasks abound on the national and international scenes.

Planning for the accomplishment of these tasks, and the new ones that constantly arise, requires the making of estimates on the rate of expansion of the economy as a whole, and on its separate parts. Such estimates have been made for several sectors of the economy by private and quasi-official groups.[11, 12] But manpower planning is still in its infancy as a conscious instrument of public policy. In fact, in both the public and private sectors, efforts are constantly being made to economize by keeping the numbers of the employed at a minimum.

In some quarters, the unemployed have been written off as permanently unemployable. Their failure to find jobs is attributed to their own problems, in spite of the fact that little attention is paid to roles

they might perform in the expansion of existing forms of construction, production, transportation, and services, and in the host of innovations to come. In the area of human services, Eli Ginzberg has put the challenge this way:

> **. . . Really imaginative planning would seek to enlist many of the disadvantaged, who themselves need work, in programs that could contribute significantly to the range of services that children and adolescents from these same groups require if they are to be properly prepared for work and life.[12]**

Programs in many parts of the country are utilizing this concept. The provision of the Economic Opportunity Act that programs be developed, conducted, and administered with maximum feasible participation of the low-income target population has stimulated the design of nonprofessional components in the majority of projects being funded under Title II (Community Action Programs). The experience gained in these efforts will have important long-run effects on manpower planning in the human services and may also indicate new directions for hiring practices in other fields.

The same kind of "astute planning" in all sectors would provide guidelines as to needed training programs, gaps in service, and a truer picture of the occupational future of the American people. In the economic upturn of the last 2 years, we have seen that even high rates of profit and growth are not alone sufficient to create the number of jobs needed, although they may be essential as a base for further development. For encouraging youth to assume an appropriate role in society, more is required than efforts to ease the transition from school to work. Both these major institutions have to be altered in ways that will enhance their significance to those now cut off from making their own contribution.

The efforts now being made to improve the quality of education must be extended to average students and to those who now lack high academic interest. This goal has long been on the agenda of the public education system, but in too many places basic problems of school finance and overcrowding have pushed the question of quality education into the background. With growing national concern, educators may be freed to concentrate on content and on the climate of the schools, with the aim of raising the educational level of the population as a whole.

It would be an enormous oversimplification, however, to lean altogether on the schools as a solution to the problems of work and employment. As already indicated, the creation of useful jobs at rates of pay high enough to live in health and decency is a necessary first step.

It is probably true that a significant number of people now at work would prefer to leave the labor force, and would do so if the family could be assured an adequate living. Such questions remain speculative, however, until we reach the actual limit of employment under changed conditions of demand.

We are only beginning to experiment, for example, with the lowering of certain hiring requirements and the widespread use of nonprofessionals. And we have not yet begun to use our national imagination to invent ways to provide those public and private services needed to enhance the quality of our daily lives. Until our infant mortality rate is the lowest in the world (we rank 10th among nations), until our aging citizens live in dignity, until our housing and our physical conditions begin to approach levels now considered utopian—until these and other items on the national agenda are dealt with—we cannot really know the limits of demand for the work of people. Only by testing these limits can we plan for the fulfillment of our national aspirations.

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HERE AND THERE

Against Poverty

As of mid-February, the Office of Economic Opportunity had completed plans for nearly 400 separate "War on Poverty" projects, totaling over $221 million in estimated costs, under the provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. (See *Children*, September–October 1964, page 198.)

Plans for six urban *Job Corps* centers had been completed—at Camp Kilmer, N.J.; Tongue Point Naval Station, Oreg.; Camp Gary, Tex.; Camp Parks, Calif.; Camp Atterbury, Ind.; Camp Breckenridge, Ky. Arrangements had been made with educational institutions and business corporations to provide training in a variety of skills to their residents—unemployed, out-of-school youth age 16 through 21. Each center will train 1,250 to 2,500 youth. Separate centers for girls will be established.

Arrangements had also been made for 62 rural Job Corps conservation centers in 28 States; with 87 centers the goal for 1965, at a construction-and-operation cost of $46 million. In these conservation centers, 100 to 200 young men, 16 through 21, will work in conservation tasks while receiving basic education and instruction in job skills. The rural centers will be operated by the U.S. Departments of Agriculture and Interior.

As of mid-February, more than 100,000 applications for Job Corps placement had been received by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The maximum Job Corps tour is 2 years. It is estimated that over 40,000 young people will be enrolled in the Job Corps in the first year of operation. More than 30 national organizations have agreed to recruit for the Corps at their own expense.

In the *Neighborhood Youth Corps* work-training program for unemployed youth and youth attending school, administered by the Secretary of Labor, 60 projects in 27 States, to cost about $28 million, had been approved by mid-February. In addition, $20 million worth of projects are being planned to provide part- and full-time employment for 50,000 high school youths next summer, to enable them to earn enough money to return to school in the fall. They will work for public or nonprofit organizations as laboratory aides, tutors, water supply conservationists, X-ray technician aides, receptionists, clerical aides, teacher aides, nurses' aides, library aides, playground aides, park ranger aides, forestry aides, and other tasks.

It is estimated that between 125,000 and 150,000 young men and women will be enrolled in the Neighborhood Youth Corps program during 1965. They will be paid $1.25 an hour for work performed.

More than 700 universities and colleges had filed applications with the U.S. Office of Education for support for *work-study* programs; 577 of these applications had been approved. The first grants will bring part-time employment to nearly 35,000 college students.

More than $28 million in Federal *community action* grants had been approved to provide financial support for 150 community action programs in urban and rural areas. Stimulated by the opportunities in the act, 90 percent of U.S. cities with populations of more than 50,000 (including nearly all of the 219 standard metropolitan areas in the Nation) and over 160 rural areas (including Indian reservations) had, by mid-February, formed local antipoverty organizations.

Grants had so far been made to 29 States, 60 cities, 25 rural communities, 6 universities, and 3 Indian tribes. These grants will support local community action programs already under way, and will also be used to plan and operate new programs.

One grant was made to the North Carolina Fund for recruiting and training college graduates and adults to work as community aid technicians for social agencies and in institutions, schools, clinics, and settlement houses.

The projects range from training nonprofessional technicians for working among poverty-stricken people in North Carolina to a broad $3.9 million multifaceted program in Chicago, the largest of the community action grants to date.

The funds will be used for remedial education and job training in isolated rural areas, studies in improving employment opportunities, preschool training to help children in impoverished areas adjust to classroom environment, multipurpose neighborhood centers in the slums of an industrial city, library service, recreational facilities, health education, home management counseling, and, in at least one instance, for a mobile planned parenthood clinic.

In addition, $150 million in community action funds had been earmarked for Project Headstart, a preschool program in three phases for children in low-income areas. Of this, $15 million had been earmarked for an 8-week summer program in community-operated centers to provide preschool education for 100,000 children going into kindergarten or first grade next fall: 4- and 5-year-olds from disadvantaged families in 200 to 300 communities. The second phase will consist of a followup on the children who participated in the first phase, and the third phase will be the development of fully comprehensive programs for early-childhood education, 9 months to a year in length. Plans are to extend the program through the remainder of fiscal 1966, to reach 300,000 additional children. The children will be given medical checkups; glasses, if needed; high nutritional meals; as well as stimulation and instruction in the use of language and other basic skills.

About $19 million had been earmarked for the *adult basic education* program. During fiscal year 1965, basic schooling will be provided for 37,500 adults. Courses are open to persons 18 years old or older who have not completed elementary school, or whose inability to get and hold a job is caused by lack of education.

Approval for 30 *work-training projects for unemployed fathers* had been received from the Welfare Administration, to cost over $21 million, almost all of which is funded in full by the Federal Government. The projects will provide work experience and training for approximately 33,000 participants with about 98,000 dependents, most of whom will come from families receiving support under the Federal-State program of aid to families with dependent children.

Projects had been approved in seven-

teen States—Alaska, Arkansas (with two projects), California (eight), Georgia, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana (three), Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Mexico, North Carolina, Ohio (two), Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Utah, Wisconsin—and Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

As of mid-February, 49 *VISTA* projects (*Volunteers in Service to America*) had been approved for 20 States. For these, 239 trained volunteers will be dispatched to the mountain communities of Appalachia, to migrant workers in Texas, to the slums of New York City and Miami, and to Indian reservations in Arizona, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Utah.

Volunteers will work in rural and urban community action programs, in Job Corps camps, and in hospitals, schools, and institutions for the mentally retarded. Their assignments will range from helping slow learners in school and initiating self-help housing projects to giving counseling and vocational training to teenagers and operating day-care centers. The first VISTA volunteers trained at Camp New Hope, N.C.

—Charles Cooke

Teenagers

The 1947 baby crop, part of the postwar baby boom, resulted in 3,700,000 American young people reaching their 17th birthday in 1964, according to a recent analysis of Bureau of the Census figures made by the Population Reference Bureau, a nonprofit research and educational organization in Washington, D.C. This was 800,000 more than the number who reached 17 in 1960.

The report of the analysis, released as a "Population Profile," points out that if 1960 percentages held true, of these 3,700,000 youngsters who became 17 in 1964:

- One-fourth had already dropped out of school; 4 percent were still in elementary school; and 3 percent were already in college.
- About 258,000 were already married—12 percent of the girls and 2 percent of the boys.
- About one-third of the boys—630,000—would be found unqualified for military service if examined for induction at age 18.

The report indicates that there will be a slight decline in new 17-year-olds in 1965 and 1966, but an increase in each succeeding year, with the number reaching 4 million by 1974. It points out that this is part of a massive population growth of persons 17 years of age or under, a group which in the past 4 years has been increasing at 2 percent a year, and which in 1964 came to 70 million young people, or 63 percent more than in 1947, the year the 1964 teenagers were born. It predicts that high school enrollment will increase by 30 percent in the next decade and that, "even though the percentage of problem teenagers is not increasing . . . social, moral, educational, juvenile delinquency, and employment problems will increase each year."

Child Care

Child-care agencies under Jewish auspices are increasingly turning to the development of specialized residential treatment facilities and group foster homes and less to the use of regular foster family homes in their services to disturbed children, according to a recently issued report of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, Inc. The report attributes this development not only to an increasing difficulty of finding foster family homes, but also—and chiefly—to a growing realization of the destructiveness to children of replacement from one foster family to another. It points out that many children cannot be contained in foster homes, either because the problems they present are beyond the capacity of the usual foster parents to deal with or because they cannot tolerate the closeness of a foster family.

Other trends among Jewish children's agencies pointed out in the report are the coordination of existing services through mergers or the development of a central intake, and the search for "governmental, third-party, and other sources of financing." ("Current Directions in Jewish Child Care Services," an issue of *Council Reports*, Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, Inc., 729 Seventh Avenue, New York, 10019. 40 cents. Mimeographed.)

. . .

Since the initiation of a volunteer case-aide program in 1962, the Jewish Family Service of Worcester, Mass., has used 26 volunteers in direct services to families, according to Burton S. Rubin, executive director of the Jewish Family Service of Worcester. While the volunteers make no professional decisions, they assist the caseworker in treatment by developing warm, friendly relationships with persons especially in need of them—a frightened, anxious adolescent returning from a State hospital, or a withdrawn, overwhelmed mother too disturbed and preoccupied to make friends—and helping them to find ways to participate in community life. The agency has found that many distraught, lonely persons who have been unresponsive to casework treatment alone have responded when consistent personal interest has been offered them from a warm person from the community.

The agency also uses volunteers in service to specific clients through a case committee whose members are active in securing needed treatment resources—special foster homes and homemakers, and employment for disturbed teenagers and others unable to obtain work through the usual community resources. All the agency's volunteer activities are carried on under the supervision of professional staff.

Parent Education

Forty-two persons with experience as practitioners or administrators in providing education in child care and home management to low-income parents met in Washington, D.C., for 3 days early last December to provide consultation to the Subcommittee on Parent and Family Life Education of the Interdepartmental Committee on Children and Youth, which is planning a publication on the subject. They came from 19 States and the District of Columbia and represented a variety of disciplines, including education, nursing, pediatrics, home economics, social work, human relations, child development, and psychiatry.

The projects they described were sponsored by agricultural extension programs, settlement houses, community YWCA's, health and welfare councils, local public welfare departments, hospitals, well-baby clinics, public health departments, mental health departments, planned parenthood clinics, public schools, day-care centers, universities, public housing developments, and a child development research institute. As described, these projects were experimenting with adapting the traditional forms of parent education to meet the needs of poor and poorly educated families of a

variety of races and cultures—Caucasian, Negro, American Indian, Puerto Rican, and Mexican. In most of them, the emphasis was on recognizing the cultural values of the groups served and using these as a basis for helping parents provide a physically and emotionally healthier home life for their children.

At the meeting, this recognition of differences in cultural values was pointed up as being of critical importance in efforts to reach and maintain the interest of those mothers and fathers most in need of parent education. While the emphasis was chiefly on mothers, a number of participants stressed the importance—and greater difficulty—of reaching and maintaining the interest of fathers.

Among other points, the participants emphasized—

In re *ways of reaching and holding parents:* the importance of face-to-face contacts in recruitment, informality and flexibility in arrangements and structure, building the initial program around immediate needs such as ways of using surplus foods, allowing mothers to bring their children and friends, giving each member a small fixed responsibility, and providing a warm, sensitive leader.

In re *content and methods:* the importance of setting specific goals, beginning with where people are but moving on from there; using methods calculated to increase the parents' capacity for decision-making; seizing the "teachable moment"; encouraging the group to set a specific project for completion at a specific time; involving outside specialists in the group participation.

In re *the development of indigenous leadership:* the importance of being aware of the existing leadership in the neighborhood as well as in the group; of recognizing the possibility that hostility in a deprived person may be a sign of strength; of being aware of both the pitfalls and strengths of using neighborhood persons as group leaders.

In re *suitable educational materials:* the usefulness of a variety of materials—films, illustrated pamphlets, flannel boards, puppets, playlets, tape recordings, and field trips; the importance of pretesting materials on the kinds of populations for which they are intended; the need for developing material on specific subjects, such as preparing the child for school, how to prepare for a job, helping a child to succeed in school, how to keep children out of trouble.

In re *research:* the importance of devising simple evaluative materials for use in testing the effectiveness of a program; and the importance of basic research into the kinds of intervention most likely to bring about change.

Against Delinquency

Early in January, the Citizens' Committee for Children of New York, a nonprofit voluntary organization concerned with the welfare of children, challenged as "questionable" recent New York City Youth Board claims of success in a 12-year experiment in the use of delinquency prediction tables, originally developed by Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, and warned that the use of such tables may be harmful to children.

On the basis of a report prepared by its consultant, Alfred J. Kahn of the Columbia University School of Social Work, the committee charged that the efficiency of a delinquency prediction scale, offered in the Board's recently released "Manual of Procedures" for using delinquency prediction tables, had not been validated.

In the report, Dr. Kahn maintained that nobody knows whether predictions of potential delinquency protect the community or harm the child, since the research done on prediction scales "has not actually determined whether a scale of this kind can be used by any except highly skilled research staff or applied within schools or social agencies without serious damage to the children predicted for delinquency," or without affecting the objectivity of personnel toward a child labeled as predelinquent. He maintained that the scale offered in the Youth Board manual, having been designed to fit a specific group, "may be able to predict *backward*," but has not been tested in *forward* prediction. It is not the one with which the Youth Board began its studies 12 years ago.

Dr. Kahn cited a "crucial table" in the Youth Board report which showed that, of 44 boys in the Youth Board study who became delinquents, the scale missed 16 and predicted 28, and he questioned whether the same proportion of boys headed for trouble might not have been otherwise discovered without the expenditure and risks involved in the use of prediction scales. He also pointed out that delinquency was not the sole problem affecting the boys studied, since the Youth Board report showed that 22 percent of the nondelinquent boys had problems in adjustment and therefore were also in need of early identification and service.

Dr. Kahn suggests that "prediction studies are important as a test of causal theories" when they are based on the premise that "all prediction is actuarial, dealing with rates within groups, not individuals."

"Predictions about individuals," he pointed out, "are not only inaccurate, but also run the risk of the self-fulfilling prophecy in relation to a phenomenon such as delinquency, which involves large components of social stigma and self-image. In addition, new services for youth may be more effective if addressed to 'young people' than if shaped for those considered 'pre-delinquent.'"

Unmarried Mothers

A preliminary survey "to explore the nature of repetitive out-of-wedlock childbearing within the AFDC [aid to families with dependent children] program" was recently completed by Dr. Kermit T. Wiltse and Robert W. Roberts of the School of Social Welfare, University of California, Berkeley. Sponsored by the California State Department of Social Welfare, the Contra Costa County (Calif.) Social Service Department, and the University of California, the area surveyed was in the western part of Contra Costa County, including the cities of Richmond, El Cerrito, San Pablo, and smaller towns—an area into which a large percentage of the population had migrated from the South.

The investigators reviewed case records, in the county's Social Service Department, of 997 women receiving AFDC who had borne children out of wedlock—almost half (47 percent) of the total AFDC caseload in the area under study. The 997 cases were divided into 4 categories: mothers who had borne one child out of wedlock (498), two (225), three (135), and four or more (139). Twenty-five percent of the case records in the first group were read; 50 percent of those in the second and third; and 100 percent of those in the "four or more" group.

Nearly two-thirds of these unmarried mothers had been married at some time in their lives, indicating, according to

the investigators, that the bearers of out-of-wedlock children "are not set apart as a group who never marry."

The majority of the mothers studied were born outside of California, and, on the average, had resided at least 5 years in California before receiving aid. This finding supported the theory that "people do not typically migrate in order to qualify for public assistance." It was found, furthermore, that the percentage of the mothers born out of the State increased with each increase of out-of-wedlock children born to them. And the mothers who had had only one out-of-wedlock child came on aid "at a somewhat younger age" than those who had had more than one, which suggested that those mothers who might be singled out by critics of the AFDC program as "career unmarried mothers on AFDC" actually came on aid at a later age than those who had had only one out-of-wedlock child.

Based on an analysis of the relationship of the mother with the father of each child, the investigators concluded that these mothers "typically invested themselves in each relationship and that truly casual relationships [resulting in out-of-wedlock children] were rare"—in fact, only 2.6 percent.

In summing up, the investigators concluded that their data, "far from 'explaining' illegitimacy . . . may demonstrate the folly of pat explanations and give us a glimse [of] the distance we must travel before we can speak of understanding so complex a social phenomenon."

The survey will be included in a book, "The Unwed Mother," edited by Mr. Roberts, to be published next year.

Miscellaneous

Since 1960 the schools of the United States have shown a steady increase in "holding power," according to a report of the National Education Association. National rates are up 1.6 percent. For the large city school systems, holding power has increased 2.5 percent since 1961. Large city schools, however, have a higher proportion of "dropouts" than those in small areas. The "holding power rate" is based on the number of pupils who entered grade 10 in one year and the number who graduated 3 years later.

The report, "Holding Power/Large City School Systems," can be obtained from the National Education Association, Washington, D.C., 20036. ($2.)

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"To Temper the Wind," a 30-minute drama interpreting the values of homemaker service, is now available in printed form, together with acting directions and a discussion guide, from the National Council for Homemaker Services. The play was written and produced for the Council by Plays for Living Division, Family Service Association of America. Copies can be ordered at $2 each, and $12 for a production kit of six, from the National Council for Homemaker Services, 1790 Broadway, New York, N.Y., 10019.

Films on Child Life

Films listed here have been reviewed by staff members of the Children's Bureau. The listing does not constitute endorsement of a film, but indicates that its contents have merit. Charges for rental or purchase, not given because they change, may be obtained from distributors.

REPORT ON DOWN'S SYNDROME (MONGOLISM). 20 minutes; sound; color; borrow, rent, or purchase.

This film shows the development of two Mongoloid children over a 6-year period, stressing the importance of early diagnosis to (1) insure proper medical care; and (2) help parents develop the attitudes essential to the attainment by such children of their maximum potential. It also illustrates the general characteristics and treatment of the syndrome, including genetic findings and methods of chromosome analysis.

Audience: Parents, public groups interested in mental health; classes in all branches of medicine, in nursing, psychology, social work, nutrition; educators, public health, welfare, and rehabilitation personnel; clergymen.

Produced by: International Film Bureau, with the cooperation of the University of Southern California School of Medicine and the Los Angeles Childrens Hospital.

Distributed by: International Film Bureau, 332 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill., 60604 (to purchase); local State mental health authority or film library, to borrow or rent.

VANDALISM: CRIME OR PRANK? 5 minutes, 40 seconds; color; sound; purchase.

Designed to stimulate discussion, this film depicts a situation in which an adult sees a group of boys destroying public property and recognizes one as the son of friends. It presents two conflicting points of view: (1) that the vandalism was a boyish prank which should be ignored; (2) that the witness has an obligation to report it, either to the police or to the boy's parents.

Audience: Junior high and high school students; parents; PTA, counseling, and youth-serving groups; other interested adults.

Produced by: Horizon Film Productions.

Distributed by: International Film Bureau, 332 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill., 60604. In Canada: Educational Film Distributors, Ltd., 577 Jarvis Street, Toronto 5.

WORLD OF A GIRL. 19 minutes; color; sound; loan.

Using the tape-recorded comments made informally by young girls about their attitude toward menstruation and its onset, this film is designed to introduce teenage girls to the subject of menstrual hygiene and adolescent development.

Audience: Educators; youth leaders; and general public, including adolescent boys.

Produced by: Electra Studio.

Distributed by: Scott Paper Co., Home Service Center, Philadephia 13, Pa.

BOOK NOTES

HEALTH AND THE SCHOOL CHILD. Compiled and edited by Elmer W. Weber. Charles C Thomas, Springfield, Ill. 1964. 385 pp. $10.50.

The 21 articles in this collection discuss policies and practices in the administration of school health programs, and describe the child's needs for healthy growth and development and also some specific aspects of health care—nutrition, immunization, control of communicable disease, sight conservation, dental health, and mental health.

Emphasis is placed on the importance of periodic physical examinations, and sample forms are included for use in health appraisal.

Consideration is also given to the problems of dealing with exceptional children in school—the crippled, deaf, hard-of-hearing, blind, partially sighted, and mentally retarded, as well as those children with speech defects.

The authors include physicians of various specialties, school health nurses, health educators, and a dentist. According to the editor, the book is directed to teachers, school administrators, school and public health nurses, parents, and community health authorities.

THE PSYCHOANALYTIC STUDY OF THE CHILD. Volume XIX. Ruth S. Eissler, Anna Freud, Heinz Hartmann, Marianne Kris, editors. International Universities Press, New York. 1964. 439 pp. $10.

The 23 articles in this 19th annual volume of psychoanalytic papers are presented under three main subject headings:

1. "Contributions to Psychoanalytic Theory" contains four papers on concepts in psychoanalysis, including one concerned with the significance of individual differences for later development.

2. "Aspects of Normal and Pathological Development" contains nine papers on the determinants of development, two of which are concerned with blind children, two with adolescents, and one with the genetic factors in the genesis of "helplessness and hopelessness."

3. "Clinical Contributions" contains nine papers, five of which deal with the reactions of children to death.

NEUROLOGICAL MECHANISMS OF HEARING AND SPEECH IN CHILDREN. Ian G. Taylor, M.D., D.P.H., with a foreword by Sir Alexander Ewing. Manchester University Press, Manchester, England. U.S.A.: The Volta Bureau, Washington, D.C. 1964. 237 pp. $6.70.

In this book, the author, an audiologist, summarizes current knowledge of the pathological conditions that result in communication problems in children, with special emphasis on the clinical techniques used to diagnose difficult cases. He also presents case stories from his own longitudinal clinical research on children with communication problems stemming from, or complicated by, disorders affecting the peripheral mechanism of hearing; cerebral damage without evidence of cerebral palsy; mental defects; cerebral palsy; and visual defects.

The book devotes considerable attention to the use of the encephalogram during sleep as a diagnostic tool. It also emphasizes the importance of purposeful parental stimulation in bringing speech to the child with a hearing handicap.

THE PARENT AND THE FATALLY ILL CHILD: a demonstration of parent participation in a hospital pediatrics department. Maurice B. Hamovitch. City of Hope Medical Center, Duarte, Calif. 1964. 152 pp. Single copies of the book are available without charge from the Medical Center.

How effective is a parent participation program in helping the families of fatally ill children deal with the crisis in as healthy a manner as possible? Can it help the children achieve the best possible adjustment to their illness and hospitalization? What does the hospital staff think of it? The answers to these and related questions are found in this 5-year study of such a program at the City of Hope Medical Center, a voluntary hospital in Los Angeles County. The author is professor at the School of Social Work, University of Southern California. The project was supported by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health.

The program was set up in 1952 to try to lessen for patients and parents the emotional trauma accompanying hospitalization. The planners believed that the more closely the families' ties and roles were retained, the less psychologically devastating for patient and parents. In this program, parents can visit between 7 a.m. and 8 p.m. and participate in the "bathing, feeding, clothing, taking temperatures, etc." During the period of study, doctors met biweekly with the parents as a group to discuss current research in the diseases their children suffered. There were also opportunities for parents individually to discuss with the medical staff the condition of their own child.

The sample studied included 82 cases of leukemia and sarcoma which ended in death between October 1960 and September 1963. The fatally ill children ranged in age from infancy through 15 years. Among the study's findings:

- In more than two-thirds of the cases the parent participation program was judged to be an effective means of helping families and their fatally ill children to deal with the catastrophe "in an adequately constructive manner." In one-fifth of the cases, the program was not successful in reversing marked problems in adjustment. In one-eighth of the cases, the program was "actually a negative factor in the overall adjustment." Dr. Hamovitch concludes that the program is "*generally* successful" but is not a panacea.
- A stable marital relationship between the child's parents seemed to be of greatest significance in the ability of families to cope with their problems and to benefit from participating in the program.
- Children beyond the age of 10 and their parents displayed more problems than younger children and their parents.
- The first 3 months in the hospital was the most difficult for nearly all parents.

IN THE JOURNALS

Coordinated Treatment

As soon as a delinquent girl is committed to a training school, services to her family should be coordinated with treatment, according to Phyllis R. Snyder, discussing, in the January 1965 issue of *Social Casework*, this coordinated approach as practiced at the New York State Training School for Girls, where she was formerly director of community services. ("Coordinating Residential and Community Treatment of Delinquent Girls.") At the school the resident social workers and field workers begin their work simultaneously on each new girl's arrival.

The school has found that "mother-daughter relationships are more likely to be worked through and resolved" if the mother has developed a good relationship with the field worker before the girl's return home. Conversely, the girl, after she has met her field worker, who represents a tie to the community, "feels more cared for and surer that plans are being made for her."

Decisions as to when a girl should return to the community—including, of course, the decision as to whether she should return to her family or be placed outside her home—are made by the school's Progress Review Committee. They are strongly influenced by the reports of the girl's social worker and her field worker, reports which are prepared only after several evaluative meetings between these two social workers.

American Education

The first issue of a new periodical, *American Education*, published by the U.S. Office of Education, appeared in January 1965, supplanting the agency's two former periodicals, *School Life* and *Higher Education*.

The first of its eight major articles reviews the progress in school desegregation in the 10 years since the historical Supreme Court decision. ("Ten Years of Deliberate Speed," by Erwin Knoll.) Finding compliance "token at best," the author, Washington correspondent for the Southern Education Reporting Service, maintains that at the rate this has occurred in the past 10 years, it "would take centuries for the public schools of the Deep South to achieve full desegregation." But he finds hope for increased speed in school desegregation in both the North and South from the "judicial, legislative, political, and social pressures now at work."

Other articles described the "cultural deprivation" of deaf children and the importance of providing them with communicative stimulation from their earliest years ("Talk, Talk, Talk to Deaf Children," by Mrs. Spencer Tracy); the variety of vocational education programs being offered by school systems in various parts of the country ("An All-Age, All-Job Program," by Walter M. Arnold); and current experiments of public school systems in providing stimulative education to preschool children from deprived homes ("Headstart for Children in Slums," by Helen K. Mackintosh and Gertrude M. Lewis).

Is Group Care Bad?

On the basis of an examination of the present-day emphasis in the Soviet Union and Israel on child rearing in group settings as "the preferred foster care method of child-raising," Martin Wolins, in the January 1965 issue of *Child Welfare*, raises the question of whether the United States should not "find out whether group care cannot be more useful here." ("Another View of Group Care.")

The author points out that in the Soviet boarding school (*shkola-internat*) and group-care facilities of Youth Aliyah and the *kibbutzim* in Israel, the primary concern is for the collectivity, the social matrix, and not just the individual alone, whereas the American emphasis has always been on the development of independent individuals.

More study of these and other group-care settings will be needed, he says, but he holds that the very existence of these programs should stimulate us to question "the elaborate mythology" built around institutional care in this country. Group care, he suggests, may not necessarily be bad for child rearing in a society which is no longer as competitively oriented as it once was.

Specifically, he suggests that group care be used in the United States for "acculturation" of the children of "certain categories of AFDC recipients."

Mary Ellen Hoffman, discussing the article in the same issue, expresses doubt of the value of group care "for the . . . children and purpose outlined," but concludes: "I think we shall find it desirable to make more and more use of group methods . . . without necessarily removing children from their parents' care."

Adolescent Suicide Attempts

The ratio of attempted suicides to actual suicides among adolescents is in the magnitude of 100 to 1, according to Dr. Harold Jacobziner of the New York City Department of Health, writing in the January 4, 1965, issue of the *Journal of the American Medical Association*. ("Attempted Suicides in Adolescence.")

On the basis of a study of 587 confirmed attempts at suicide by chemical means in individuals between 12 and 20 years old, reported to the New York City Poison Control Center during 1960–61, the author found that the highest incidence was at ages 19 and 18.

In about half the cases, the family was of medium socioeconomic level; in 38 percent, of low socioeconomic level. (". . . many occurrences in the high level group may go unreported . . ." the author suggested.)

In 21 percent of the cases, the adolescent's parents were not living together.

Among the reasons for the attempts, as stated by the victim or the family, were quarrels with family, relatives, friends, or a lover; depression; school difficulties; poor health; illegitimate pregnancy; difficulty with the law; and unspecified "nervous" and "emotional upset."

Noting that many suicide attempts by adolescents do not reflect a desire to die, but rather are warnings or pleas for improved relationships, the author concludes that psychiatric aftercare, for at least 3 months after an attempt, is "far more important than the immediate medical emergency care which is provided."

READERS' EXCHANGE

WITMER: ***The right to dependency***

Helen Witmer's article, "Children and Poverty," in the November–December 1964 issue of CHILDREN performs a badly needed rescue service for children lost in the fog of our preoccupation with a vague generality called "the poor."

During the past year, we have given our national complacency a healthy jolt through manifold reminders that general affluence has produced no real guarantee against poverty for considerable proportions of our population. But to some degree the popular mania for oversimplification has reduced poverty itself to an abstraction in which "the poor" become one amorphous mass, undifferentiated either as to the cause or remedy for their condition. In my opinion this disposition toward oversimplification acts as a barrier to the institutional changes which alone can prevent poverty.

People have a natural disposition to focus their attention on that particular kind or attribute of poverty which they find the least threatening and then project this upon the whole phenomenon. It is, for example, a lot easier to talk about "pockets of poverty" in the hills of West Virginia, or poverty as a *product* of slums, than to face the fact that the high incidence of rural poverty is literally *forcing* people into urban slums because we make no better working and living provisions for them.

Similarly there is a general disposition to concentrate on the personal attributes of poverty—inadequate education, poor motivation, and general alienation—rather than on its basic social causation. All this is fine if it leads to awareness of the urgent need for a high level of universally available education for all, with specialized aid for those with special needs, enough jobs to move into, and above all a democratic society unshackled from racial and other restraints to social mobility.

But perhaps the most seriously distracting overgeneralization is the tendency to think of the answer to poverty solely in terms of *work*. Miss Witmer's article makes it abundantly clear that the 17 million children who are poor are not yet ready to work and never will be if they are prematurely forced into the increasingly competitive labor market. Moreover, those children who are solely dependent on a mother may have a very poor chance of achieving their full potential if their mothers are forced into the labor market or are increasingly impoverished by the weight of public disapproval and tightening assistance standards.

There is a tendency today to talk as if "dependency" were always an unmitigated evil. But children are *entitled* to be dependent during the years they are preparing to become fully responsible adults. If their parents cannot, unaided, provide them with these necessary years of dependency, society has an obligation to help. The question is not *whether* but *how:* how to assure to every child the necessary wherewithal for his growth in terms of dignity, security, and participation in the society of which he is so central a part.

Elizabeth Wickenden
Technical Consultant on Public Social Policy, National Social Welfare Assembly, New York

FANSHEL: ***More on*** **Shared Fate**

As the organization representing adoptive parents groups throughout the United States and Canada, we were especially interested in David Fanshel's essay-review of David Kirk's "Shared Fate," which offers a theory of the nature of the adoptive relationship in our culture. ["An Upsurge of Interest in Adoption," by David Fanshel, September–October 1964.]

To us, Dr. Kirk's book represents the first important contribution on the nature and meaning of adoption. It speaks directly and meaningfully to us as adoptive parents. We were, therefore, distressed to find Dr. Fanshel describing the book's theory as something that had been "spun out" and would be of interest to "enthusiastic supporters of theory-building." He accuses Dr. Kirk of a "churlish concern about efforts to establish professional standards for child placement" and of "unwarranted swipes" at the social work profession. He maintains that Dr. Kirk has used faulty data and has not examined the most current publications in the child adoption field. All this seems to us to represent a rather churlish unwillingness to recognize the importance of what Dr. Kirk has done in going to adoptive parents themselves and their actual experiences and attitudes for the raw material upon which he then, with compelling logic, builds his theory.

It has long distressed us as adoptive parents that the social work profession has itself had the tendency to "spin out" theories without making any attempt to test them empirically. For example, in this very review Dr. Fanshel criticizes Dr. Kirk's belief in the value of adoptive parents groups by saying that they may create "cultist organizations which can help divorce their members from the mainstream of normal living." Yet Dr. Fanshel has never made any study of the actual working of adoptive parents groups—he "spins out" his own web of fantasy devoid of any data whatsoever.

Dr. Fanshel maintains that Dr. Kirk's thought is out of contact with much of the thinking of today's adoption agencies. If this is so, it might well be the obligation of today's adoption agencies to bring their thinking more in line with that of Dr. Kirk. From the point of view of adoptive parents, there is severe danger that adoption agencies and their spokesmen are becoming themselves more and more cultist organizations divorced from the reality of what it is to be a member of an adoptive family.

Arthur Glickman
President, National Council of Adoptive Parents Organizations, Teaneck, N.J.

Author's reply

Like Dr. Kirk, Mr. Glickman is a strong advocate of the promulgation of adoptive parents' clubs and views with considerable misgiving anyone who does not completely accept as valid the theoretical rationale for the formation of such organizations. This is quite understandable.

However, I object to the obvious manner in which he quotes me out of context. For example, he quotes only the italicized words in the following sentence from my review: "The theory

spun out by the author will prove fascinating not only for readers interested in adoption but also for those who are *enthusiastic supporters of theory-building* in the behavioral sciences and social sciences." The implications Mr. Glickman sees in the sentence are of his own contrivance.

In his letter-to-the-editor, Dr. Kirk claims that what I had referred to as a "method" was simply "an unintended dramatic event." ["Readers' Exchange," November-December 1964, p. 244.] I would still maintain that his use of his own adoptive parent status in soliciting responses from adoptive parents about experiences they have encountered in the community was a questionable procedure which might have resulted in his securing invalid responses to research questions.

Dr. Kirk has expressed objection to my stating that the data he presents to support his theory are sketchy and to my assertion that they provide only a rather tenuous underpinning to his formulations. He cites the fact that in analyzing his mailed questionnaire he achieved a Guttman Scale of high reproducibility and states: "This finding provides strong evidence that the responses are representative of genuine social experience, and so supports the validity of the data." The main contribution of the scaling technique he has employed is to determine whether the items used belong to the same attitudinal domain. Therefore, one might consider his finding a test of internal validity for the items he has used. Thus far, however, he has failed to meet the problem of external validity by providing data which support the view that a kind of biological chauvinism exists in the community at large.

David Fanshel
Associate Professor, Columbia University School of Social Work

Guides and Reports

PROCEEDINGS: ONE-DAY INSTITUTE ON INTEGRATION OF THE MENTALLY RETARDED IN A COMMUNITY GROUP SERVICE AGENCY—A LOOK AT KNOWLEDGE, METHODS AND GAPS. 1964. 52 pp. $1.

PROCEEDINGS: ALL-DAY INSTITUTE ON INTRODUCTION OF A NEW SERVICE: DEVELOPING GROUP WORK AND RECREATION RESOURCES FOR THE MENTALLY RETARDED IN THE COMMUNITY GROUP SERVICE AGENCY. 1964. 45 pp. 50 cents. The Association for the Help of Retarded Children, New York City Chapter, 200 Park Avenue South, New York, 10003.

Reports of two institutes, the first held at the Kennedy Child Study Center in December 1963; the second, at the Association's office in February 1964.

A VIEW FROM THE BENCH; the juvenile court. Hon. Justine Wise Polier. National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 44 East 23d Street, New York, 10010. 1964. 86 pp. Single copies free from the Council.

Reports on a study made in New York City in 1962 to examine the operation of judicial administration in the Juvenile Term of the Family Court, appraise the quality and quantity of services needed for children who appear in court, and determine the structure for effective administration of a family court and its goals.

INSTITUTION OR FOSTER FAMILY: a century of debate. Martin Wolins and Irving Piliavin. Child Welfare League of America, 44 East 23d Street, New York, 10010. September 1964. 62 pp. $1.50.

An examination of the issues involved in differing views over the relative merits of foster family or institutional care for children—today and in the past—in the light of what is known or not known on the basis of empirical research.

ROUND-THE-CLOCK COVERAGE IN CHILD PROTECTIVE SERVICES. Children's Division, The American Humane Association, Post Office Box 1266, Denver, Colo., 80201. 1964. 20 pp. 35 cents.

Contains three papers which describe the after-hours services of three child protective agencies—the Children's Aid and SPCC of Erie County, Buffalo, N.Y.; the Children's Aid Society of Metropolitan Toronto; and the Oahu Division of the Hawaii State Department of Social Services.

PROCEEDINGS OF WORKSHOP ON INFLUENCING THE POSITIVE USE OF CRISIS. Tulane Studies in Social Welfare, Vol. 5, 1962. School of Social Work, Tulane University, New Orleans, La. 1964. 99 pp. Single copies available to agencies and professional schools on request.

Reports on the second of two workshops on medical social work with handicapped children and their parents. The first was "The Significance of Health and Handicap in the Growth and Development of the Child."

REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HOSPITALS' COMMITTEE ON PSYCHIATRIC SERVICES FOR CHILDREN TO THE COMMISSIONER OF HOSPITALS, NEW YORK CITY. New York City Community Mental Health Board, 93 Worth Street, New York, 10013. June 1964. 55 pp. Copies available from the Board on request.

Reviews the "major, basic operational problems around mental health services for children in a big city," especially in relation to the use and misuse of municipal hospitals, and makes 30 specific recommendations for improving service to children.

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1965

SOME U.S. GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR PROFESSIONAL WORKERS

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REPORT ON DAY CARE: meeting of representatives of State Advisory Committees on day-care services and State Departments of Public Welfare, March 19–20, 1964. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Welfare Administration, Children's Bureau. Child Welfare Report No. 14. 1964. 54 pp. Single copies available from the Bureau without charge.

The proceedings of a meeting called by the Children's Bureau to discuss the States' problems and progress in the provision of day-care services. The texts of addresses by the Commissioner of Welfare, the Assistant Secretary of Labor, and the president of the National Committee for the Day Care of Children are included, as well as summaries of reports from the States and the ensuing discussions.

DAY CARE FOR YOUR CHILD IN A FAMILY HOME. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Welfare Administration, Children's Bureau. CB Publication No. 411. 1964. 14 pp. 15 cents.

This pamphlet is addressed to working mothers who must select a family day-care home on their own because their community does not provide help in this direction. It offers guidelines to assist the mother in choosing a proper physical and social environment and a responsible day-care mother; and hints on how mother and day-care mother can work together in the best interests of the child.

CONVERGING SOCIAL TRENDS—EMERGING SOCIAL PROBLEMS. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Welfare Administration, Division of Research. WA Publication No. 6. 1964. 96 pp. 55 cents.

The 54 annotated charts and 38 tables in this pamphlet illustrate some of the social forces which are creating imbalances in the Nation's social structure and the human problems that result. Among other relation shifts they illustrate: the contrasting effects of automation on job opportunities for the highly skilled and the unskilled; the adverse effects on earning power of color, female sex, and low education; the effects of race, sex, and geographic area on educational attainment; the effects of medical advances on costs of health care. Also included are data showing increases in families with no father in the home and of the proportion of married women who are employed.

THE COMPREHENSIVE COMMUNITY MENTAL HEALTH CENTER: CONCEPT AND CHALLENGE. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Public Health Service, National Institute of Mental Health. PHS Publication No. 1137. 1964. 22 pp. 15 cents.

This booklet explains the opportunity provided communities through the Community Mental Health Centers Construction Act of 1963 for receiving Federal help to establish comprehensive community centers for treating mentally ill persons in their own communities; discusses the advantages of such centers to patients; and gives examples of centers already in operation.

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